



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Nazarkin Says 50-Percent Cuts 'High on Agenda'
*LD0308130189 Moscow TASS in English 1247 GMT
3 Aug 89*

[Text] Geneva August 3 TASS—by TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Korzhev:

An item concerning a 50-per cent cut in strategic offensive arms remains high on the agenda of Soviet-American relations, Yuriy Nazarkin, Soviet chief delegate at the talks with the United States on nuclear and space arms, said on Thursday.

In accordance with the established tradition, he addressed the participants in the Geneva conference on disarmament, briefing them on the course of the talks, the regular round of which will end on August 7.

The Soviet chief delegate emphasised that there existed an objective interrelationship between defensive and offensive strategic arms.

Therefore a 50-per cent cut in strategic offensive arms is possible only in the condition of non-orbiting of anti-missile weapons, and consideration but this should not interfere with the work on the treaty. [sentence as received]

In conclusion Nazarkin said that the next, 12th, round of the talks on strategic offensive arms would apparently begin immediately after the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state meet in September this year.

Remarks on Geneva Talks Cited
*LD0408195889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0630 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] In Geneva at the summer session of the conference on disarmament which is taking place at the Palace of Nations the heads of the USSR and U.S. delegations, ambassadors Yuriy Nazarkin and Richard Burt, have made speeches at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments. Our correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev reports from Geneva:

[Dmitriyev] They put forward to the participants in the multilateral forum the positions occupied by their countries and informed the conference in detail of the progress being made in the bilateral talks which are coming to the end of the regular, 11th, round. The head of the Soviet delegation said in particular:

[Begin Nazarkin recording] The question of a 50 percent reduction in Soviet and U.S. arsenals of strategic offensive weapons remains in first place on the agenda of our relations with the United States. At the same time, at the present time, it is difficult to divide the process of disarmament into a bilateral and a multilateral one. It is a question of a single process touching on the interests of each and everyone, requiring joint, purposeful action on the part of the world community as a whole. [end recording]

The head of the Soviet delegation went on to state that the focal problem is undoubtedly the achievement of an accord on the observance of the ABM treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and the nonwithdrawal from it throughout the agreed term. Just as before, the positions of the sides are extremely distant from one another. In the course of the talks the provisions of the future treaty and the concomitant documents connected with the problems of verification [kontrol] were subjected to further elaboration and agreement. The Soviet side is in favor of a maximally broad and effective verification [proverka] over the implementation of limiting or prohibitive provisions with regard to all types of strategic offensive weapons which will be embraced by the treaty. In parallel with the search for solutions to questions that have not been agreed upon, the Soviet representative noted, in the course of the entire round, work was conducted on the texts of the draft agreement on strategic offensive weapons and on memorandums of the initial data, protocols on inspections, and protocols on the reequipping or elimination of strategic offensive weapons.

The sides managed to make considerable progress on all the documents mentioned, Yuriy Nazarkin said. This particularly applies the provisions on verification [kontrol], and in particular the protocols on inspections. This has become possible as a result of the striving of the delegations to find mutually acceptable solutions, as a result of the constructive and businesslike atmosphere at the talks, the Soviet representative stressed.

Karpov Calls for Eradication of Nuclear Arms
*LD0508130489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0640 GMT 5 Aug 89*

[Commentator Vladimir Pasko interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Karpov, "recorded last Saturday"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Karpov] As a result of the active diplomacy of the USSR we managed in 1974 to conclude with the United States a treaty on limiting underground nuclear tests to a yield of 150 kilotons, and in 1976 to conclude a treaty on regulating underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. True, these two treaties remained unratified by the United States. Talks are now continuing with the United States to establish systems for monitoring [kontrol] these treaties, ratifying them, and moving on to a new stage—to talks on a sharp reduction in the number of explosions and reducing their yield.

Our line on this issue is unambiguous. We are in favor of a total cessation of nuclear tests. Two weeks ago a decision was made to send a special message to the U.S. Congress on this issue. This message might begin direct dialogue between the parliamentarians of the USSR and the parliamentarians of the United States on this very important and major question.

There is another part to the problem of nuclear weapons. This is the problem of the safety of nuclear power. Chernobyl showed that despite all the apparent safety of nuclear power, accidents can occur. Unpredictable consequences can occur for people's health which can affect not only the present generation but also future generations. The whole question of ecological safety connected with nuclear power is acute.

Where is the way out? The way out, of course, is to use new methods, or to be precise, synthesis, nuclear synthesis, which has been under discussion for a long time. It does not produce radioactive waste. It is possible to use simple water as the initial material to obtain energy. The efforts of many scientists are now being directed toward this. We actively support the creation of a world organization of scientists who would be engaged on precisely these questions.

Another block: The production of nuclear weapons. So far the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles has led the United States and the USSR to engage in the elimination of the means of delivering nuclear weapons—missiles. The new treaty now being discussed at the talks with the United States on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons also concerns the elimination and reduction of carriers of nuclear weapons. But the question arises about nuclear weapons themselves. What is to be done with them? If nuclear warheads remain, and the means of delivery are eliminated, there are simply no guarantees that in the future production of means of delivering them will not be resumed. So, in order to ensure a completely nuclear-free world it is also necessary to eliminate the nuclear contents of the missiles, bombs, and so on.

A whole range of serious questions arises here since the production of fissionable materials for nuclear purposes is a specialized process. At present the question is virtually this: Can one seriously discuss halting the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes? We consider that such a serious discussion is not only possible, it is essential. And we have proposed to the United States—this was done by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in May this year in his conversation with State Secretary Baker—we proposed to the United States immediately and without delay to begin talks on the complete and monitored [kontroliruyemyy] halting of the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes. We have not yet received a reply. But we think that discussion of this theme will be continued.

We have already begun unilaterally to close some of our reactors producing weapons materials. But in order to make this process irreversible it is not just the efforts of the USSR which are needed, but also the efforts of the United States and other producers of nuclear weapons. The present is a rather favorable time. Production of radioactive plutonium and uranium for the purpose of weapons has been halted in the United States. This has occurred due to conditions which arose objectively. That is, the reactors

producing these fissionable materials are so old that they are becoming a danger to the environment. The situation is being created in which it is realistically possible to discuss not only stopping production but to close it down totally and completely, bearing in mind that the USSR and the United States are holding talks on a sharp reduction in their strategic offensive weapons.

Other directions, of course, are the continuing of the talks not just on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, but also the continuation of work aimed at starting talks on eliminating tactical nuclear weapons. Then the whole range of nuclear weapons would be embraced by talks with the aim of a gradual, stage-by-stage, perhaps, reduction and subsequent elimination of all of these armaments as is, indeed, envisaged by our program for a nuclear-free world put forward in January 1986.

[Pasko] Viktor Pavlovich, our side has continued putting forward initiatives, but the United States is not altering its attitude to nuclear weapons. And not only the United States, but also France and Britain constantly say that nuclear weapons are essential and that they are committed to the strategy of deterrence with regard to the USSR. How attainable are the aims which we have set—freeing the world from nuclear weapons?

[Karpov] Some foundations have already been laid for progress in this direction. There is the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium- and shorter- range missiles. I think that if it is possible to reach agreement in the next year to 18 months on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons with the United States, which in our view is quite realistic, then this would be yet another stage of progress toward a nuclear-free world.

As far as concerns the positions of Britain and France, it must be said here that for them the main argument in favor of keeping nuclear weapons has always been the thesis of the superiority of the USSR and of the Warsaw Pact as a whole in conventional weapons in Europe. But now this argument has been shaken. It has not only been shaken; I think that it has already collapsed and cannot be put back on its feet because talks have begun in Vienna during which the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies have put forward a cardinal program for reducing conventional weapons. In essence we are proposing to reduce the offensive potential of NATO and the Warsaw Pact to such an extent that the question of unleashing a large-scale war in Europe would be extremely problematic. In our view, progress on reducing conventional troops and armaments would be powerful impulse in favor of further measures for reducing and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons.

[Pasko] That is, the thesis that nuclear weapons are a guarantee of peace is no more than a myth.

[Karpov] I would say that this is a suitable pretext for continuing not only to keep, but also to improve nuclear weapons. Here the interests of the military-industrial complex are evident. If people are engaged in producing armaments they have an interest in ensuring that the capacities set up for this are put to use, and a theory to support this process is elaborated. We, too, have had to pass through this barrier. In our country, too, the theory existed for a long time that we must have as many nuclear weapons as possible, as many soldiers under arms as possible, that we must possess, in essence, a potential which would guarantee our security with regard to the surrounding world. That is clearly nonsense. It is only now we have adopted the doctrine of defensive sufficiency as the guiding directive for the construction of our armed forces; it is only now we have begun to look differently at what we already have and what we need. So, we do not need the 60,000 tanks which we have in Europe. Why do we need them? From the point of defensive sufficiency, 20,000 tanks is enough for us and our allies. The approach should be the same to nuclear weapons.

[Pasko] Viktor Pavlovich, we are now aware that we need only a defensive sufficiency and that we have no need of anything above the definite level which is really necessary. But take recent months in the United States there has been continuing support for the SDI program. The administration continues to support it. Congress may or may not like it, but it is allocating funds. Further, there is the B-2 bomber. It is a strategic bomber.

[Karpov] Undoubtedly.

[Pasko] They may be cutting the program, but the program remains. The program is being accepted, but in a different quantity.

[Karpov] Of course, we cannot make our decisions in a vacuum, ignoring what is happening in the United States and other countries. But there are definite criteria for ensuring security. For example, if the use of a certain quantity of nuclear weapons leads to what scientists call the nuclear winter, you can consider that the use of these weapons signifies a global catastrophe and so, from the point of view of your own security, it is senseless to use that amount of weapons. Questions arise here connected with objective ceilings. Therefore, everything must be looked at as a whole. It is a fact that arms race programs exist in the United States. But at the same time we must not close our eyes to the fact that, for example, the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles led to the United States looking somewhat differently at the creation of its own strategic programs. Questions are very actively debated: How much money to give, how many missiles to create, for example, with regard to the MX? Previously it was intended to turn them out by conveyor, but now only 50, [as heard] and no more money will be given for them. The question of the B-2s: Instead of the planned 132 it is now being questioned how many to permit. So far, instead of the eight planned for next year I think they are permitting only three.

The fact that talks are being held with the United States—the process of discussing how to resolve problems of security by political means—is having an influence on the U.S. legislators. I think that this is a very important channel which should be utilized and which, in my view, could lead to considerably greater mutual understanding on the question of security between the USSR and the United States, and thus lead to a rethinking of those approaches to questions of security, military budget and military spending which are now current in the United States.

[Pasko] The 1963 Moscow treaty clearly shows that there is a limit which cannot be crossed by reason. The task is to extend the application of this treaty to underground nuclear explosions.

[Karpov] Yes, and it must be said that there is quite active movement being made in this direction. At present there is a proposal from six countries to introduce into the 1963 treaty an amendment which would extend its application to underground nuclear tests. Already 39 states—that is over one third of the participants in this treaty—have sent to the depositaries of the treaty, that is the United States, Great Britain and the USSR, their proposal to convene a conference to examine this question. We support the idea. We are now actively working to convene such a conference, but unfortunately, we have not yet received support from the two other depositaries.

[Pasko] Tomorrow, Hiroshima will mark, by the ringing of a bell, the 44th anniversary of the monstrous explosion which turned that city to ashes. That bell will ring out not just in sorrow for the tens of thousands of dead, but also as an alarm bell, again and again reminding everyone that the problem of eliminating nuclear weapons is a problem for the whole of mankind, and that it requires everyone's efforts.

Bogachev Urges Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
*LD0408170489 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT
4 Aug 89*

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—By TASS military analyst Vladimir Bogachev:

It will be no exaggeration to say that a complete ban on nuclear weapon tests would revolutionize utterly the approaches of all countries to problems of war and peace.

Discontinuation of nuclear tests will interfere seriously with the development of new and perfection of the existing mass annihilation systems. Every time the development of a new nuclear system was suggested the question would be asked: Can we rely on the effectiveness of untested weapons? The nuclear arsenals would grow obsolete and unusable. Unprecedented opportunities will appear to step up the process of arms control, to achieve mutually acceptable decisions on the entire

range of questions related to the limitation and restriction of mass annihilation systems. A corresponding international agreement on nuclear blasts will undoubtedly block effectively the existing nuclear arms race channels, will put up dependable barriers to the dissemination of nuclear weapons, will strengthen stability in international relations and will stave off the nuclear war menace, which is most important, of course.

There are no obstacles of a technical character to the conclusion of the treaty on nuclear explosions. Competent experts both in the East and the West believe that the test-ban agreement could be monitored with a high degree of dependability by all countries today. The problem of nuclear tests is of a political character now. The goodwill of all the sides concerned is primarily necessary to conclude a corresponding agreement. Observers note quite rightly that the problem of stopping nuclear tests is a kind of litmus- paper, allowing to evaluate quite accurately the true stand of this or other government on the entire range of arms limitation and reduction questions.

The appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the U.S. Congress, published, as a matter of fact, on the eve of the anniversary of the historic 1963 Moscow treaty, says that the Soviet Union is prepared any day or any hour to announce a moratorium on all nuclear blasts on reciprocal lines, that such a moratorium could be a prologue to a controlled agreement on the prohibition of all nuclear tests. The Supreme Soviet deputies call attention to the fact that joint experiments of Soviet and American scientists have proved the dependability of the developed measures to control the fulfillment of such a treaty.

There has been no official reply so far from the U.S. Congress to the appeal of Soviet legislators. However, a representative team of 14 American legislators, led by Les Aspin, chairman of the House of Representatives Arms Services Committee, and including government and private military experts is to arrive in Moscow shortly at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet. There is every reason to expect that the problem of banning all nuclear weapon tests will hold a worthy place in the discussions between Soviet and American parliamentarians.

Matyash Says 'Groundwork' Laid for Further Cuts
LD0608153389 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT
6 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—By TASS political observer Vladimir Matyash:

The Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments, held within the framework of the disarmament conference in Geneva, are nearing completion.

On January 15, 1986, the Soviet Union set forth a program of security through disarmament, whose core was a plan for stage-by- stage transition to a nuclear-free world, full elimination of weapons of mass annihilation and radical reduction of the level of military confrontation in the world.

Reaction to this program differed. Some supported it, while others expressed skepticism. At the same time, one can say already now that mankind has managed to overcome the difficult psychological barrier: Nuclear disarmament has ceased to be only a slogan and become a reality.

Less than two years after the program was announced, the Soviet Union and the United States signed a treaty banning intermediate- range nuclear missiles.

Soviet Ambassador Yuriy Nazarkin said during the Geneva talks that for the first time since nuclear weapons were created the Soviet Union and the United States managed to agree on elimination of two classes of their nuclear missiles.

This first, and thus especially important, step toward a nuclear-free world has created prerequisites for further, more radical cuts in nuclear and other weapons.

The conclusion of the intermediate-range nuclear force treaty has laid political and methodological groundwork for solving complicated problems emerging in the course of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons.

The main item on the agenda of Soviet-U.S. relations is 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive armaments on both sides. At the same time, it is not only these two countries that are interested in such reductions.

The talks on nuclear and space armaments, which are bilateral as regards the composition of their participants and the range of weapons under discussion, are of vital importance for the whole mankind as the matter at issue is elimination of a huge amount of nuclear weapons which have a most powerful destructive potential threatening the whole world.

In the past few years, the situation in the world has been gradually but steadily changing for the better. New horizons are opening and real possibilities of creating a comprehensive system of international security are appearing on the road toward a nuclear- free and non-violent world.

This road, which will see many obstacles yet, has already been marked by many landmarks. One of them is the important Delhi Declaration in which India and the Soviet Union proclaimed principles of a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said addressing the United Nations on December 7, 1988: "We are witnessing the first efforts to build a new model of security through the reduction of armaments on the basis of compromise, not through their buildup, as was almost always the case in the past."

In accordance with a Soviet-American arrangement, the Soviet delegation at the Geneva talks is working toward an agreement on compliance with the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty as it was signed in 1972 and on non-withdrawal from it for a period to be agreed on.

The Soviet Union does not propose any artificial linkages but it takes into account the fact that there is an objective relationship between defensive and offensive strategic armaments. This is why 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive armaments is possible only if weapons are not placed in outer space and the ABM Treaty is observed.

Batsanov Presses for Chemical Weapons Ban
LD0508160689 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] The parliamentary group of the USSR has called on parliamentarians of the world to cooperate with the aim of ensuring an early signing of a convention that will ban chemical weapons and provide for the elimination of their stockpile. In the meantime, a summer session of the disarmament conference is taking place in Geneva. Delegations from 40 countries and observers from more than 20 states participate in its work. Among the issues on its agenda there is the question of nuclear and chemical disarmament, the prevention of the militarization of space, and the halting of all nuclear tests. Our correspondent in Switzerland, Vladimir Dmitriyev, has met in Geneva with the head of the Soviet delegation, Sergey Batsanov. He asked him to comment on the progress of the conference.

Not only at this, but at previous sessions too the main attention was focused on the talks over a chemical weapons ban. On the whole, I think we can talk about progress in relation to this issue, Sergey Batsanov said.

Another 11th round of regular Soviet-American consultations over a chemical weapons ban held in June was very productive. At the delegations level, we reached an agreement concerning all the details of the procedure for the holding of inspections on request. This is a major method of control which as we believe allows to carry out an inspection at any point on the territory of a member state if any suspicion arises in relation to it. Such inspections should be obligatory. The preparation is drawing to a close of another document stipulating the procedure of the elimination of the chemical weapons stocks and facilities producing them, including the rules in relation to binary chemical weapons which will also be totally destroyed. And finally, considerable progress has been reached in the development of bilateral confidence-building measures and the exchange of information about the military chemical potentials of the Soviet Union and the United States. The correctness of this information can be verified with the help of on-site inspections among other measures, held even prior to the signing of the convention. I'd like to add, the head of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva disarmament conference went on, that the preparation is under way of a very important and sophisticated document that has a great political significance for all the countries of the world and not only for the Soviet Union and the United States.

The elimination of chemical weapons is a complicated process in technical terms. When asked how the Soviet Union tackles this problem, Sergey Batsanov said:

Chemical weapons should be eliminated in such a way so as no detriment is done to people's health or to the environment. International bodies should have a chance to control the process easily. In other words, industrial facilities are needed equipped with the most up to date technology that can carry out this job at modern (?levels). What we need today, Sergey Batsanov went on, is to draw up as quickly as possible a national program for eliminating chemical weapons where sites will be determined for the location of the facilities for the elimination and a whole range of issues will be solved concerning the transportation of chemical weapons, their dismantling, and destruction. The work along these lines has already begun and it is important now to carry it out in the conditions of openness, Sergey Batsanov said in conclusion.

'Observers Roundtable' Views Changing World Scene
LD0608200689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1130 GMT 6 Aug 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev, member of the Collegium of TASS and editor in chief of TASS foreign information; Vsevolod Ivanovich Sovva, deputy head of the USSR foreign ministry's information directorate; and Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko, a commentator for All-Union Radio]

[Text] [Pasko] Hello, comrades. There has been quite a lot going on in international life over the past week. Above all, I should like to single out the end of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The session discussed issues that related mainly to our domestic affairs. But where is the borderline today between domestic and foreign affairs? Our restructuring is directly bound up with tackling external problems, too. It has a bearing on the policy of other countries and has set international relations in motion.

This was reflected in Comrade Gorbachev's speech at the session on the results of his visits to Britain, the FRG, and France, and of his participation in the conference of the Political Consultative Committee.

[Sovva] Above all I should like to say that the speech by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, with its detailed and well-argued picture of the international situation, was the practical fulfillment of the resolution of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies on the main directions of the USSR's domestic and foreign policy. The topic of foreign policy, covered as it was in that speech with such sonority and conviction, boosted the already great interest abroad in the sitting of the Soviet parliament. Its daily involvement in our complicated domestic affairs did not, as some people had expected, mean that our country's activity on the international scene was relegated to the second fiddles. The deputies, along with millions of their electors, heard information on our latest steps in the foreign policy realm, and no doubt pondered deeply on the close interconnection between the domestic and the international aspects of restructuring.

On the other hand, many abroad were awaiting our parliament's weighty word on the topical issues of the international situation today. In the course of extensive international contacts in recent times, the spokesmen for the USSR—and by that I mean the chairman of the new Supreme Soviet, the head of the government and the minister of foreign affairs—have discussed a number of most important topics and have tabled proposals aimed at tackling many complicated matters. Agreements, too, have also been signed. Much has been written about this in the press. These include agreements with Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, and France in specific spheres of cooperation. Now the authority of the USSR Supreme Soviet stands over all this. There is every reason to suppose that the foreign policy impetus will

have a beneficial effect on the further discussion of domestic political and economic issues. There is a greater sense of confidence in our prospects—a sense of inspiration, I would say.

[Pasko] Unquestionably, our relations with the Western world are changing. I should like to draw your attention to some impressions which the head of our state gained from his recent trip: greater confidence and even willingness to trust; greater definition; greater confidence in a future Europe of peace; greater openness and, the main thing, the content of relations is getting deeper—interest; affection; well-wishing attitudes; the widest range of feelings, with only hostility and enmity absent. All this is bound up with the growing understanding of the international significance of our perestroika. This link may be discerned in the attention with which the press, radio, and television abroad are following what is going on here.

[Chukseyev] The correspondents for the Western mass media accredited in Moscow and commentators in the capitals of the world really have been paying constant and unremitting attention to what has been going on at the session. As I see it, this interest was, above all, occasioned by the fact that the work of the session was being examined from the point of view of what it would bring to perestroika, or in other words, how, in the broader sense, perestroika is faring in our country.

This is what the West German newspaper BILD had written on the subject: The West has an interest in lending support to the policy of perestroika in the Soviet Union. The West is following keenly the course of the struggle that surrounds it, since success or failure in this sphere would be of very great significance to the whole world.

By and large, I should say that the West links the internal situation in the USSR and its development directly with our state's foreign policy activity. In recent days the magazine LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR published an interview with French President Mitterrand, who said in part: Perestroika is a term in Soviet domestic policy. It is a different concept from the concept of a common European home, but they complement one another and come together in one and the same position.

And here is the opinion of the Italian L'UNITA: the policy of perestroika in the Soviet Union is currently undergoing one of its most tense and potentially decisive stages. What is going on in the Soviet Union affects us, too—the European Community. There has long been discussion in the West as to the essence of the processes taking place in the USSR and in some other socialist countries. The point of this discussion, stresses the newspaper, is to acknowledge the positive, new course of Soviet policy which has brought about profound change in the international situation.

However, by no means everyone in the West interprets this policy in that way. The official reaction of the United States, for example, to the idea of building a

common European home appears somewhat peculiar, to put it mildly. Last week U.S. Vice President Quayle granted an interview to the West German weekly BUNTE. In it he dealt with various aspects of this problem. We can leave the dogmatic, occasionally propagandistic and outdated expressions such as "the immorality of the communist system" and so on to the vice president's conscience. But this is what he had to say about the situation in Europe, and I quote: Quite simply, Gorbachev would like to see the United States leave Europe. For this reason he talks about a European home and about us Europeans. What he implies is a Europe without Americans.

Pardon me, but that is nothing but a lie. Let us look at Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech at the session. Here is part of what he said: Our standpoint here is absolutely definite. It is based, like everything else, on political realism. The United States of America is, objectively, a factor in the European process, and it would be crude—what is more, I will be frank, it would be pointless—to underestimate this reality, let alone to build plans of some kind.

[Pasko] We, too, follow reaction abroad. But there is something that in my opinion is quite astonishing: The interest shown abroad in our perestroika has engendered a wariness in some people. Are we really on the right road? There is an explanation, however, for this paradox. As I see it, it is largely to be found in our upbringing: Everything's fine so long as the enemy is disparaging us, but if—God forbid!—he should start praising us for something then it must be to his advantage and thus a mistake. Perhaps the main thing is that by and large this approach was in keeping with the attitudes that used to exist in the world generally. That was a period of bitter confrontation and of cold war. Nowadays, the relationship between East and West is, to universal satisfaction, emerging from this state of affairs. It is emerging because both here and there people have come to realize that the situation had become intolerable. For, as we all know, the cold war had, on several occasions, been on the verge of escalating into a hot war.

True enough, the West did not immediately grasp the essence of restructuring. Our critical interpretation of the state of affairs was seen as a departure from the principles of socialism. As I see it, though, this is now a thing of the past. It is now acknowledged that there has been no such departure. But it is evident to all that the success of our undertakings is bringing about a decline in tension. In my opinion, the discussion in the West as to what sort of Soviet Union it is more advantageous to deal with—an economically strong or weak one—is, if not at an end, then at least in decline. It is recognized that it is better to deal with a strong Soviet Union; otherwise there will be no development of economic ties, and these ties provide one of the main components in strengthening security.

[Sovva] Vladimir Georgiyevich, as I was listening to you I was trying to think of any partners abroad now, with which the Soviet Union does not have contact on topical international issues. And I could not think of a single region or country with which we are not involved in dialogue now. You mentioned just now the East-West line. One could name many other directions now: North-South, and other regional routes. But there is one that I should like to speak about in more detail. Straight after the international conference on Cambodia held in Paris, the USSR foreign minister headed for Iran. Sometimes the tight schedule of international negotiations means that a route must be straightened out, in this case bypassing Moscow. Iran is our neighbor; we share with it one of the longest borders in the world. In recent months close contacts have been established between the leaders of our countries. Even prior to his election as president of Iran, Hashemi-Rafsanjani visited Moscow, and during his meeting with him Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had an extensive exchange of opinions. The sides mapped out possible prospects for their relations. And during this visit by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze to Tehran, a number of the outline drafts were transferred to what I would call the practical plane. From a diplomat's viewpoint, I should like above all to note the narrowing of the positions of the two sides on a series of topical international issues. Here I would make separate mention of the growth in understanding with respect to ways of achieving a cease-fire in Afghanistan and of establishing inter-Afghan dialogue with the aim of setting up a broad-based representative government. In short, it is to be hoped that 1989 will prove to be a watershed in Soviet-Iranian relations. Both sides would seem to hold the same view on the unnatural state of affairs in the past, when, quite simply, the Soviet Union and Iran did not have normal relations.

[Pasko] Hashemi-Rafsanjani probably summed up the significance of this visit best, when he said that the positive development of Soviet-Iranian relations will have a positive influence on the whole region. It should be said that Comrade Shevardnadze was the first person to be received by Hashemi-Rafsanjani after his election as the country's president.

Last week I came across an article in the newspaper TEHRAN TIMES which said that glasnost and perestroika have brought about significant changes in the Soviet way of thinking. This has led to a new tendency, the aim of which is to avert and eliminate all world conflicts. If the Soviet Union achieves success in this direction, that will be a great diplomatic victory for it, the newspaper wrote. It added that the visit that had taken place could probably be viewed as the start of a process that would lead to the elimination of seats of tension and conflicts in that region.

[Sovva] Here the Afghanistan situation was implied primarily, insofar as I understand. Many events connected with Afghanistan occurred this week. Take, for instance, the Soviet-U.S. consultations in Stockholm.

There was also the speech of the UN secretary-general. He once again called upon the signatories of the Geneva Accords and also upon the guarantors to not only ensure scrupulous and honest fulfilment of all their commitments but also to urgently promote a universal political settlement. That settlement evidently must come on a broad, international basis. There is no direct similarity, but what is happening in Paris at the international conference on Cambodia shows to some extent the direction of the quest for a settlement. The regions' countries should definitely participate in such a forum, and the Soviet Union, the United States, and other interested states should take part. Naturally, this should be done under UN aegis. After all, the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan were adopted with the most active participation of the UN and its secretary-general.

The situation in Afghanistan can currently be described in the following way. On the one hand, the opposition, especially the irreconcilables and those well-known individuals such as Hikmatyar and a number of other figures, are attempting to impose a test of strength by military means, although everybody in Afghanistan and outside it knows that this cannot solve the problem. On the other hand, efforts are intensifying to attract the sides which are outside Afghanistan. I mean primarily Iran, India, and Pakistan. Such contacts today bear the stamp of an exchange of opinions between the state representatives of those countries. The press in those countries actively advocates a settlement. This includes, oddly enough, newspapers which come out directly in Peshawar. I have had occasion to leaf through them recently. There is a lot about the 'Arafat mission, the mediation mission which played a certain part in the liberation of an U.S. citizen and made possible contacts between the State Department and Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This means that certain definite precedents already exist which may lead to a strengthening of international interaction around this problem, although the positions of the sides, as the Soviet-U.S. consultations in Stockholm showed, considerably differ from each other.

[Pasko] The goals of the opposition are clear. They need to topple the existing regime. But nothing is working out for them in this....

[Sovva, interrupting] Vladimir Georgevich. A slight addendum: We are speaking of the opposition as if it were something integral. That is not the case. If once there was a notion that the irreconcilables could be conciliatory in their own environment, today that is refuted by many facts. Even if I omit the fact that the Alliance of Seven has not become an alliance of fifteen, there has been a major clash between the field commanders who are receiving subsidies and orders, if one can express it this way, from different places. Hikmatyar and Rabbani have had a most strong disagreement, and this has led to the physical destruction of commanders. This means that they have not united to move forward together to occupy cities and settlements.

[Pasko] Vsevolod Ivanovich, in connection with what you have said, I would like to draw your attention to news which came in the final days of the week. A major armed formation of the opposition composed of 700 people went over to the side of the government in one province. Here is what is interesting: the formation that took the road of national reconciliation belonged to a grouping of the Movement of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan. That is the grouping which was led by Mohammadi, i.e. one of the leaders of that Alliance of Seven.

This week, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA published an interview given by Afghan Defense Minister Shahnawaz Tanay. He spoke about the situation in the country, but it is interesting how he finished his interview. He expresses the opinion that the country is approaching a turning point in the struggle with those groups. Nevertheless, he expresses the opinion that it is necessary to resolve all these issues at the negotiating table, i.e. the position of the Afghan leadership is quite evident here. Regional conflicts are dangerous in their capacity to escalate. We have only just received an example of that in the Middle East.

[Sova] When we speak about the latest conflict, it is sometimes difficult to pick out the reasons and consequences. In our tempestuous times, events outstrip each other and, in the final analysis, a mass of different matters, events and reactions pour from the newspaper pages onto the readers, not allowing one to determine immediately who is right and who is to blame. Clearly right is he who was not the first involved in the conflict. Here, in particular, is a report that a most authoritative U.S. court—the jury of the Federal District Court of Washington—has found the South Korean company of Korean Airlines guilty of deliberate illegitimate action which led to the demise of the Boeing-747 airliner in Soviet airspace.

[Pasko] What a lot of noise there was about this.

[Sovva] There was very much noise about it, and they tried to toss all the blame, so to speak, on the Soviet Union. Now that company [Korean Airlines] will pay \$50 million, at first estimates, to the families of the 130 passengers who perished.

If one looks in the light of that event at what has happened in recent days in the Middle East, then a gross act of international terrorism is self-evident, when, clearly with the approval of the leadership of Israel, Israeli commandos—one can translate that, generally, as well organized and well-drilled terrorists—kidnapped Shaykh 'Ubayd and two of his relatives. Naturally, this led to an extremely unstable situation and to retaliatory acts of a non-state and, maybe also a state character.

[Rasko] Yes, of a state character. Here the United States is involved.

[Sovva] I mean that it is difficult for civilian ships to travel through the Mediterranean Sea, because an unprecedented concentration of the Navy is being observed there.

[Chukseyev] And violence breeds violence. You know, I still recall the pictures of the video film, which was shown by the terrorists and which was distributed by the U.S. television company CNN, of the corpse of the hanged American Lieutenant-Colonel Higgins with hands and legs tied rotating slowly on a rope. And, nevertheless, I imagine that the United States will prefer diplomatic measures rather than military steps in the present circumstances. Let us just think about it together. After all, using artillery or aviation against such a densely populated city as Beirut would mean a bloodbath there. Moreover, you remember well that the United States has already had a sad experience in that country. In 1984, it unsuccessfully used its marines there to try to rescue hostages and suffered big losses. I think that the accumulation of that military might is dictated by two circumstances: first, to create an impression of firmness and resolution inside the country [the United States], and second, to bring psychological pressure to bear against the terrorists in order to prevent further killings. In general, those tactics are producing results for the meantime. The terrorists, who had declared an intention to execute another American—Professor Cicippio of Beirut University—are not yet enacting their threat.

[Pasko] I think that common sense will nonetheless prevail in this conflict. In the final analysis, when you look at all the reports which have come in during the past week from the United States, it is evident that the decision to dispatch the U.S. ships did not appear immediately, and the news agencies have subsequently noted that President Bush has shown restraint in the search for his response to those events which are happening. It is also interesting that there has been criticism in Congress of Israel, and that criticism came from none other than the leader of the Republican minority in the Senate. True, he had to later tone down his statements, taking into account those around him, but it expressed the mood, of course.

But I would like to say the following, that this problem, the problem of regional conflicts, of settling regional conflicts, needs to be decided. And I think that our Parliament—our Supreme Soviet—could also play a role in the decision of such questions. The Supreme Soviet has already made very important and, I would say, far-reaching proposals. I mean the appeal to the U.S. Congress to discuss the question of banning nuclear tests. There was an appeal by the Supreme Soviet to the parliaments of all countries to establish dialogue on matters of banning chemical weapons. These are most important initiatives. And, in my view, they may initiate an extremely promising contact. And the spectrum of the problems to be discussed may be extremely broad.

[Sovva] That is exactly it. It is not a matter of good wishes and general declarations. During the discussion of the question of nuclear explosions, deputies focused

attention on the specific problem, not on the whole general range of issues relating to the scrapping of nuclear weapons. Why? Well, because this question has already been worked out to a considerable degree through military and diplomatic channels. Now it is time for a political decision. That is why the Supreme Soviet is directly addressing the U.S. Congress.

[Chukseyev] Well, in the sphere of disarmament, too, work on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis is now actively underway. In Geneva, another round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments is drawing to an end. Tomorrow, Monday [7 August] the sides will have to exchange the updated texts of the documents that have been prepared. Evidently, the discussion will continue after the September meeting between the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state. Nevertheless, what has this round shown? The discussion focused on the question of the 50-percent reduction in the arsenals of strategic offensive armaments. This issue, incidentally, remains at the top of the agenda in our relations with the United States. The Soviet side proceeds here from the fact that there is an objective relation between defensive and offensive strategic armaments. Therefore, halving the number of offensive weapons is possible only provided antimissile weapons are not put into space. In other words, there is a need for stringent and rigorous compliance with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems in the form in which it was signed in 1972. Therefore, the USSR proposes including in the text of the future treaty on strategic offensive armaments a provision to the effect that it will lose its force if the treaty on anti-missile defense is violated. One must admit that until now it has not been possible to attain mutual understanding with the U.S. on this issue. There is also deadlock on the limitation of sea-based long-range cruise missiles. In our side's opinion, the problem of verifying [kontrol] their reduction, despite all the complexity, can be solved. In general, however, at this stage the progress of the discussion has shown once again that to reach an agreement in this sphere is not a simple, but a laborious, and very difficult task.

[Pasko] If there are complexities, then there is all the more reason, it seems to me, for organizations such as parliaments to become involved. After all, the world is moving along the path of democratization. Parliaments play an ever greater role in determining states' politics. One can observe this. Accordingly, more active links between them are necessary. It seems to me that joint discussion of these sore points by parliaments could speed up the movement to a safer world.

[Sovva] I favor an increased role for parliaments in the whole sphere of international relations. Naturally, I am now concerned about our Supreme Soviet, about our deputies' speeches, in particular, about the speech that noted that there is not yet any literature or reference materials. Well, all this will naturally come. As to professional diplomacy, in this regard there is already a

specific plan of action. It was outlined by the foreign minister at the Committee on International Affairs. In particular, the Foreign Ministry will assist the groups of deputies that are to be charged with following the progress of talks in which the USSR or a special mission from the international organization are taking part, so as to prepare reports on problems of world politics [as heard]. The practice of cooperation with the Supreme Soviet will include regular appearances at the meetings of the Committee on International Affairs by the foreign minister, his deputies and other high ranking diplomats to provide information about the progress of international talks in which we take part, about the way the USSR's position is formed at such forums and about the results of official and working visits. In other words, not just straight away at a full session, but also perhaps with preliminary work having been done on a whole range of problems in groups and committees with the participation of this commission [as heard]. It is possible to assert

boldly that with the start of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet—a constitutional and plenipotentiary mechanism for adopting foreign policy decisions—the activity of the Foreign Affairs Ministry will take place with a routine and regime that is new to it, acquiring new parameters and qualities. This will exclude in the future the practice of secretly adopting decisions. I would not like to lay special stress today upon professional diplomacy. With great pleasure I have read in our press about the formation of a people's diplomacy fund. I think that within the framework of this fund, international affairs journalists must play not the least role.

[Pasko] I think that international affairs journalists will not shy away from this. Comrades, I thank you for taking part in our meeting today. Regrettably, its time has drawn to an end. All the best.

United States & Canada

'Possibility' of U.S. Strike in Lebanon Noted

LD0408163189 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] New York August 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kirilchenko:

The U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has not ruled out the possibility of armed forces being used to "punish" groups holding some Americans as hostages in Lebanon. At the same time he refused to expound on concrete plans of the U.S. Administration in this connection. In an interview to the ABC TV network Baker noted it would be wrong to renounce all versions of U.S. actions. It would also be erroneous, in his opinion, to make conjectures about the possible steps.

The head of the U.S. diplomatic service implied that the United States was not averse to a punitive action like the air-raid on Libya in April 1986. Claiming that the purpose of that operation was to deal a "retaliatory blow at terrorism," he said that Tripoli was bombed without any hesitation whatsoever. However, such an action, as he noted, was hampered today by the fact that it could affect negatively the fate of the eight Americans kept as hostages by extremist Lebanese groupings.

At the same time, as reported by THE NEW YORK TIMES with reference to official representatives of the U.S. Administration, President George Bush is prepared to order air strikes at targets regarded as terrorist cytdels in Lebanon if the threat to kill American hostages was carried out. Regarded as one such target, the newspaper notes, is the Lebanese town of Baalbek, where a shiite camp is located.

Quayle's View of Moscow Intentions 'Outdated'

LD0408203889 Moscow TASS in English 1957 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

The Soviet Union-suggested concept of building a common European home has been positively regarded both in European countries and outside Europe and is being actively discussed by political figures and the public.

U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle has also joined the discussion but in a special, strange manner, one should say. He regards the very idea of a common European home not as a striving to jointly build a peaceful future but as Moscow's attempt at 'edging the United States out' of Europe.

In an interview with the West Germany Weekly BUNTE, the U.S. vice president alleged that Gorbachev unambiguously would like the United States to leave Europe, that the idea of Europe's breakaway seemed

topical to Moscow and for this reason it spoke of a European home and of 'us Europeans', and that Europe without Americans was meant.

Of course, Quayle does not and cannot have any proofs, for what he presents as a 'Soviet concept' is not such in actual fact.

Our country's position concerning the common European home idea is quite different, diametrically opposite rather. It has been repeatedly and with utmost clarity set out from the highest rostrums. Mikhail Gorbachev's news conference in Bonn on June 15 must be recalled in this connection.

'The joint statement which you signed with Chancellor Kohl said that the United States and Canada have the right to a place in a common European home,' one of the journalists said at the news conference. 'Could you specify what is meant by this?'

The answer was: 'I do not imagine realistic policy—I speak of Soviet leadership in this case—which would aim to somehow infringe on the interests of the United States. That would not be serious and would be a departure from the principle of realism, unflinching realism which we firmly abide by'.

The Soviet president went on to say: 'the building of a common European home presupposes active participation of the United States and Canada. Their involvement in European affairs for decades created prerequisites for their participation—constructive and fruitful—in the new phase of the European process'.

Is it that the U.S. vice president has not been informed of these remarks?

The news conference in Bonn took place one and a half months ago and it can be supposed that those who prepared materials for the vice president's interview could 'forget' about it. But people in the White House could hardly forget the recent speech by Mikhail Gorbachev at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Soviet president said that 'The United States of America is objectively a factor in the European process, and it would be primitive and, moreover, I would put it straight, senseless to underestimate this reality and, still less, make some plans.

'Therefore it is in our universal interests to build relations with that country so that they would promote the adaptation of the East and West along the way to a new, peaceful European order'.

Can it be so that this utterly clear statement did not reach the U.S. vice president either?

To tell the truth, it seemed to me that conjectures about 'Moscow's treacherous plans' aimed at 'splitting NATO' and at 'tearing America away from Western Europe' have long been consigned to the archives where they are shelved together with other outdated confrontational stereotypes. But it turns out that such stereotypes are still obtaining, and one can only regret that they are promulgated by none other than the U.S. vice president.

U.S. Maneuvers 'Mock' OAS Panama Peace Moves

LD0508134289 Moscow TASS in English 1153 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Panama August 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Eldar Abdullayev: The second round of tripartite talks on settling a political crisis in Panama with the mediation of the Organisation of American States (OAS) was held in heated debates. An interval till next Thursday was announced at the request of the Democratic Opposition Alliance.

According to Panamanian government official Romulo Escobar Betancur, the dialogue is characterised by a constructive and candid exchange of views. Positive shifts were made at them, but serious differences remain on the program for pulling the country out of the crisis, which was put forward by the government.

Diego Cordovez, a member of the OAS commission and Ecuadorean foreign minister, is sure that participants in the talks can achieve positive results in the search for truly democratic and peaceful Panamanian solutions in the interests of the nation, security and stability in the country and the region. If the talks and the OAS mission founder now, the United States will use it as a pretext for carrying on the tough as it is line vis-a-vis Panama, the minister stressed.

The Democratic Opposition Alliance keeps opposing the government's program which provides, above all, for an end to U.S. interference in Panama's internal affairs. Its leaders propose their own way out of the stalemate, specifically, holding a nationwide plebiscite on the entire range of issues on the agenda already harmonised by the parties to the talks.

Two days of talks were accompanied with the roar of practice shooting, the rumble of tanks and the screeching of aircraft, helicopters and boats of the U.S. Southern Command. Against a backdrop of the OAS peace-making efforts and the determined work of the participants in the dialogue to forge a compromise, the regular manoeuvres by U.S. troops in the Panama Canal Zone look as not just a mockery of the entire process of political settlement in Panama. Panamanian President Manuel Solis Palma stated here that the United States tries to prove that it intends to achieve its strategic goals in the Canal Zone only by the policy of brute military force, blackmail, pressure, trade and economic sanctions. The president strongly denounced these gross

provocations which are deliberately escalated each time the OAS commission visits Panama, and demanded an immediate end to the military manoeuvres.

Akhromeyev Interviewed on Recent U.S. Visit

LD0608171489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1035 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Interview with Sergey Akhromeyev, Marshal of the Soviet Union, by Viktor Levin, All-Union Radio commentator, in the Kremlin; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Levin] Sergey Fedorovich, your recent 2-week trip to the United States was your third. It seems that we all know quite a lot about the United States. Since we have started looking at the United States without a certain bias and without ideological blinders, many new things have started to be revealed to us. But what are your impressions from your trips to the United States?

[Akhromeyev] Well, I have indeed been to the United States three times, but each of these trips had a specific purpose. In December 1987 I was in the group which accompanied Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who went to the United States in connection with the signing of the treaty on eliminating medium- and short-range missiles. The second time, in the summer of 1988, I was on an official visit as the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, at the invitation of Admiral Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. This time, however, I was there at the invitation of Mr Aspin, chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives, and submitted a report on Soviet national security policy in the 1990's. Besides this, I was presented with the opportunity of visiting other towns apart from Washington to meet representatives of the U.S. public.

Indeed, the situation in the United States is changing. At present, perhaps, of all the foreign policy problems which concern the U.S. public, problem number one is perestroika in the Soviet Union. And, I think, the overwhelming majority of U.S. citizens want it to be successful. I was told this by ordinary people—workers and farmers—I was told this by scientists; I was told this by representatives of the business world, important businessmen...

[Levin, interrupting] Sergey Fedorovich, very often among our radio listeners the question arises: But why do capitalists, the leaders of Western states, and many people there so want our perestroika to succeed, since perestroika must strengthen our socialist state? What do you think?

[Akhromeyev] You see, we now—in the Soviet Union—have concluded that at this time common human values are the main ones: the struggle for peace, the elimination of nuclear weapons, joint action to prevent an ecological catastrophe, or, at least, extremely serious consequences in the world. But this process has not only affected the

Soviet Union, but I think all people in the world, including the U.S. people. And all governments—including, I think, the U.S. Administration—are nevertheless more and more giving top priority to precisely this, so that in the world today common human values are given top priority and that it should be a matter of priority to negotiate on these, first of all on the part of the United States and the Soviet Union. And once this is the case, there appears an objective possibility for these accords to be successful.

It is for this reason that such changes are taking place. But our perestroika—from an international standpoint, this is democracy, glasnost; this is new thinking in foreign policy—is moving in such a way that these common human tasks can be most successfully accomplished together with the Soviet Union. All this creates objective preconditions for the view of the Soviet Union in the world to change, including in the United States.

[Levin] Sergey Fedorovich, one can, I suppose, confidently state that the central point of your trip was the speech in the U.S. House of Representatives. The magazine *NEWSDAY* assessed your speech in the following manner: The Soviet marshal disarmed the congressmen. From the publication, one can realize that the basis of this assessment was the statement by Republican Bill Dickinson, member of the House of Representatives from Alabama, who said that you were disarmingly frank. I understand that it is impossible to reproduce all that you said to the congressmen, since the meeting lasted for 4 and ½ hours. But could you not briefly acquaint us with what you told the congressmen?

[Akhromeyev] I would, you see, refrain from any such emotional evaluations; that is the business of the mass media and everyone who makes such evaluations. If we speak in a considered and unemotional way, the speech dealt with how the Soviet Union's policy in regard to national security would develop in the 1990s and what it would be based on. Well, first I tried to brief the congressmen on the precise essence of our policy in building the armed forces, in national defense for the 1990s, while at the same time demonstrating that this is mutually dependent on the military policy which the United States pursues. I tried to show them how we intend to take into account the U.S. concern when we are tackling issues related to our defense. The United States is particularly worried about the development of Soviet ground forces. At the same time, I frankly and bluntly expressed the anxieties felt by the Soviet Union and the Soviet people in respect to the U.S. military policy. In particular, I especially tried make the congressmen understand that it is impossible to continue carrying on joint work to reduce armed forces unless negotiations are begun on reducing the naval forces of the sides.

I gained the impression that my explanations were received with understanding both in the Congress and among the public. I mention the public because the speech and the answers to questions were carried on U.S. television, and many people had the opportunity to hear them.

[Levin] Sergey Fedorovich, one of my colleagues has said he cannot understand why the issue of tanks can be somehow linked with naval forces. I would very much like to hear your point of view.

[Akhromeyev] I see no such direct connection here. The production of weapons in the Soviet Union is of interest to congressmen because the U.S. mass media give blatantly inflated figures on this production. When, therefore, I was asked a direct question about how many tanks were being manufactured in the Soviet Union in 1989, I answered directly, citing that figure.

[Levin] If I am not mistaken it was 1,700.

[Akhromeyev] That is it, 1,700 tanks. If we talk about interdependence, then we should talk not about tanks and naval forces but, for instance, about the ground forces of the Soviet Union and the naval forces of the United States, or in general about the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the United States. Here there is indeed interdependence. The United States is worried about the strength and numbers of our ground forces; it sees in these some alleged threat to its allies in Europe. While we are concerned at the might of the U.S. naval forces, in which we see a threat to the Soviet Union, in the event of any deterioration in the situation.

[Levin] Sergey Fedorovich, I know that during Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany you met with Defense Minister Stoltenberg. Did you sense this anxiety about our armed forces in the FRG which the United States so often talks about?

[Akhromeyev] My meeting with Mr Stoltenberg lasted around 40 minutes, and he did indeed voice to me these anxieties about, in his opinion, the great superiority, military superiority, of the Warsaw Treaty states over the armed forces of the North Atlantic Alliance. In fact, there is no such superiority. Because when people in the West talk about superiority, they mainly mean superiority in ground forces and in the armaments of the ground forces. At the same time, they quite deliberately fail to take into account the strength and might of the naval fleet and the armaments of the naval forces. If we evaluate the total military might of the two alliances in Europe, the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Alliance, then the total military might of these two alliances is approximately equal.

Nevertheless, however, the West asserts—without any grounds, but it nevertheless asserts—the superiority of the Warsaw Pact, and Mr Stoltenberg spoke to me about this. For my part, I told him our evaluation, which I have just given you.

[Levin] Sergey Fedorovich, let us go back to your trip to the United States. What do you think? Has that image of the enemy which took shape over a period of many years

dimmed even a little or do the congressmen even now continue to regard the Soviet Union as an aggressor which is sharpening its knife against them?

[Akhromeyev] The image of the enemy, I think, began to fade even several years ago, with the start of the Soviet Union's implementation of a new foreign policy, we can say that implementation of this began in practice from 1985, for in December 1985 Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with President Ronald Reagan in Geneva. And as early as that, positive decisions were adopted and, as they say, changes for the better began. As far back as that, therefore, that image of the enemy began to dim and fade away, that image of the enemy which existed in the United States in regard to the Soviet Union and, correspondingly, in the Soviet Union in regard to the United States. After this, many changes for the better took place: first and foremost, there have already been five meetings between our leaders. Very major joint decisions have been adopted: That some treaty on elimination of intermediate-range missiles; progress, successful progress at the negotiations on strategic offensive weapons; and finally, the adoption of a draft treaty on reducing armed forces in Europe.

Relations between us have changed. Military contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States have been established and have already assumed quite broad dimensions at all levels. Last June, Admiral Crowe, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on arrival in the Soviet Union replied to a similar question from a correspondent, saying that he does not regard the Soviet Union as an enemy. And I agree with him: I, too, can say that we cannot now speak of the United States as an enemy. No! Relations are changing, both between states and between peoples, and between armed forces, too.

It is another matter, however, that the policy of force has not yet become obsolete, that the United States conducts its policy in regard to the Soviet Union from a position of strength. And hence the military danger: This has not been eradicated; it still exists. Just as the United States considers that we, for our part, represent a military danger to it. Therefore, we still have a great deal of work to do at all levels on eliminating or completing the elimination of the image of the enemy, in order to effect a change in policy, in order for policy from a position of strength should be replaced by a different policy, taking into account the concerns of the sides and mutual cooperation. Quite a lot of time will be needed for this, however. I spoke to you about changes in mood among the U.S. people: But there are still no few relics of the past, and not only among them, incidentally, but among us, too.

[Levin] At the end of your trip, Sergey Fedorovich, you were received by U.S. President George Bush. The conversation was reported as focussing on issues relating to military policy and disarmament. It would, of course, be interesting to know as many details as possible, but I

fear the time is not yet ripe for that. I am, therefore, prepared to limit myself to a question about your general impression of your conversation with the President.

[Akhromeyev] When I told the President about the results of my stay in the United States and I told him that I was leaving with the belief that the majority of the U.S. people favor cooperation with the Soviet Union, that they regard positively the radical changes taking place in our country and which make up perestroika, he said that such an evaluation was correct. He also said that it was not just the U.S. people, but the administration, the U.S. government, also believe that perestroika in the Soviet Union is a huge and historic phenomenon, and they wish it success. He told me to report this opinion of his to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Furthermore, the U.S. President said that the administration takes a very responsible attitude toward all the negotiations conducted between the Soviet Union and the United States in the arms reduction sphere. He mentioned only arms reductions to me, as a military man, but this clearly relates to the whole area, the entire ranges of Soviet-U.S. relations. The President asked about our position on various issues in arms reduction, and I conscientiously explained our positions to him. There was an evident great interest on his part in what is happening in the Soviet Union, and I came away with the impression that the President himself personally, and the U.S. Government as a whole, favors development of further relations with the Soviet Union.

[Levin] Sergey Fedorovich, allow me to ask you one last question in connection with this. How do you assess the prospects of Soviet-U.S. negotiations on arms limitation?

[Akhromeyev] At present we are carrying out a considerable number of negotiations with the United States on arms reduction. Of course, the main ones among them are the negotiations on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons—these are bilateral negotiations—and negotiations on the reduction of armed forces in Europe—these are multilateral negotiations between the Warsaw pact and the North Atlantic Alliance. Besides this, there are negotiations on a ban and complete elimination of chemical weapons within the framework of the Geneva Conference and on the limitation and subsequent banning of nuclear tests.

Well, I have already told you that the mere fact that both sides are carrying out responsible negotiations with a desire to reach agreement means a lot. It has far from always been so. At the negotiations on the reduction of strategic weapons, U.S. proposals on improving verification [kontrol], that is, of the execution of the future treaty, are being discussed. But there are several serious major problems which directly reflect the basic interests of the Soviet Union and the United States, and on which, evidently, mutual concessions and consideration of mutual concerns are necessary. I think that this year, 1989, will be a year of progress in negotiations on strategic weapons. The negotiations in Europe on armed

forces reduction are proceeding intensively, and this year a considerable amount has been done. The negotiations on the elimination of chemical weapons are near conclusion. That is, I view what is now being done in arms reduction with optimism.

[Levin] Thank you very much, Sergey Fedorovich.

China

Tian Jiyun on Economic Ties With USSR
18070342 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Jul 89 p 5

[Interview with Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and vice premier of the PRC State Council Tian Jiyun by A. Zaytsev: "Supplementing Each Other"]

[Text] The high Chinese guest has come to our country in connection with the latest meeting of the Soviet-Chinese intergovernmental commission on economic, trade and scientific and technical cooperation. This is the fourth meeting of the commission, which was set up in 1985. The special feature of this latest meeting was that it was the first since the recent visit by M.S. Gorbachev to China marking full normalization of relations between the two countries.

[Zaytsev] Did this circumstance impart a new quality to the dialogue between the USSR and the PRC in the economic field?

[Tian Jiyun] Indeed, the stage-setting event that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to our country was could not fail to be reflected in the work of the commission. During the course of its latest meeting the spirit of that historical meeting was implemented, as expressed by the words of Deng Xiaoping: to close off a negative past in our relations and open up the future. Our work has essentially become a continuation of the agreements reached when the leaders of the two countries met in Beijing.

We had unusually friendly and candid talks with N.I. Ryzhkov and his first deputy, the chief of the Soviet part of the intergovernmental commission, Yu.D. Maslyuk, and there was an extremely fruitful and uninhibited exchange of opinions on the status of and prospects for the development of bilateral economic relations. They have now been given the green light in all directions. From the results of the talks a very meaningful protocol was signed. The Chinese government will make every effort to implement the agreements secured in it.

[Zaytsev] What are they, basically?

[Tian Jiyun] The protocol reflects the specific ideas and proposals on the entire range of issues on which agreement in principle was reached by the Soviet and Chinese sides during the summit meeting. Our economies can supplement each other during the course of cooperation,

and help in resolving problems in the interests of improving the lives of both the Chinese and the Soviet peoples. These tasks cannot be resolved just by trade. We have stated that there are greater possibilities in a number of spheres where economic cooperation can assume the greatest scales in the immediate future and be conducted effectively. I would like in particular to single out the development of ties in light industry and the textile industry, agriculture, and public health and medicine. There are very good prospects for cooperation in the field of power engineering, including atomic power engineering. These are the sectors that are now of special importance to China.

[Zaytsev] The activation and expansion of economic ties require new and diverse forms. What kind of reserves exist here?

[Tian Jiyun] Both sides expressed their intention of stimulating a strengthening of ties of cooperation between enterprises and establishments. In economics we can move to the creation of joint enterprises in various fields. We also reviewed the question of possible recruitment of Chinese workers for the construction of turnkey sociocultural and everyday projects and enterprises in the Soviet Union, particularly in the Far East. Enormous reserves are to be found in the development of trade across the borders and direct interregional links between our countries.

[Zaytsev] In addition to the talks in Moscow your delegation has been on a major familiarization trip round the country. What do you remember best of all?

[Tian Jiyun] We visited Leningrad, Kiev, and Yalta and a number of industrial enterprises and scientific institutions. The greatest impression was your great potential in industry and science. Special hopes are arising from the present conversion to civilian goals in the defense sectors. This will make it possible to raise the technical level of output and expand its range and volume, and to move into the world market. This is once again convincing proof of the need to strive for mutual augmentation in the economy.

PRC Science, Technology Exhibit Discussed
18070339 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 21 Jul 89 p 3

[Report by A. Vasilyev: "China Exhibits"]

[Text] An exhibit entitled "Science and Technology of the PRC" is on display at the Exhibition of the Achievements of the USSR National Economy. China entered on the path of reforms and expansion of foreign ties little more than 10 years ago. And now the decade has passed. The country has achieved amazing results, and the exhibit—whose participants include hundreds of organizations representing 27 ministries and departments, 11 provinces, autonomous regions, and large cities, as well as 2,000 exhibitors—is a clear example of the large

changes for the better that have taken place in the national economy and is evidence of the correctness and feasibility of the reform policy.

The pavilion is not like previous Chinese exhibitions with their traditional thermoses, sneakers, scissors, and tea. Today it includes an impressive abundance of computer and electronic equipment with dozens of models of television sets, tape recorders, stereo sets, telephones, calculators, and watches. An entire stand is devoted to space equipment, and at the center of the hall a crowd surrounds a robot-manipulator. And what a sea of consumer goods!

At the stand of the Ministry of Agriculture I spoke with a Docent Huang Jiazuo about the course of the transformations in the country's agrarian sector. He speaks excellent Russian (he studied during the fifties in the Soviet Union). We are learning about the innovations they have brought.

Chinese specialists have a right to be proud of their new strains of soybeans, cabbage, hybrid rice Indian rice, and many other things.

And here is a strain of watermelon, "zhengzhou No 3." Our agrarian specialists from Maritime and Krasnodar krais who managed to visit the exhibit were immediately interested in this. And this is not surprising: These watermelons weigh 4-5 kilograms each; the sugar content in them is up to 11 percent, and the yield is 450-600 quintals per hectare.

No gourmet would fail to stop at the stand of the Chinese food industry: There is a sea of jars, bottles, preserves, and other products.

The person with whom I spoke knows his business: Professor Duan Conghua.

"What is the role of joint enterprises with foreign participation in the production of all this?"

"Judge for yourself," he told me, "there are thousands of joint enterprises in China today, and it would be difficult to overestimate their role in the implementation of the reform policy."

The joint enterprises are helping us to solve many problems. Above all because of the advanced technology of our foreign partners. For example, good packaging produces high profit.

Northeast Asia

Voronin Confers With DPRK Economic Officials
PM0408134589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strengthening Ties"]

[Text] L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Kim Tal-hyon, chairman of the DPRK External Economic Affairs Committee and DPRK minister of foreign trade, 2 August.

During the conversation they discussed questions of economic cooperation and trade between the USSR and the DPRK during the current 5-year plan period and in the long term, including the construction of projects for social and cultural purposes in the eastern regions of the USSR and cooperation in ferrous metallurgy, the power industry, and other sectors of the national economy.

An agreement between the USSR Government and the DPRK Government on the principles of cooperation in the construction of projects in USSR territory was signed the same day. The implementation of the document's provisions is designed to become one of the new avenues for the further development and deepening of long-term economic cooperation between our countries.

Lukyanov Receives DPRK Parliamentary Delegates
PM0408132389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "DPRK Delegation in Moscow"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, met a delegation from the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly, headed by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly Standing Committee, which is paying an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union, 31 July in the Kremlin.

The participants in the meeting, which took place in a warm and comradely atmosphere informed one another of the progress of USSR and DPRK socioeconomic development and the activity of the two countries' supreme organs of state power.

In the course of the conversation they expressed mutual satisfaction at the dynamic development of Soviet-Korean relations on the basis of the USSR-DPRK Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. It was noted that the scale of the tasks facing both countries in modern conditions makes increased demands on the organization of bilateral cooperation. The meeting's participants confirmed that both states' supreme organs of power will do everything to ensure that ties and contacts between our countries are consistently deepened and raised to a new qualitative level.

A considerable place in the conversation was devoted to discussion of the situation on and around the Korean Peninsula. Yang Hyong-sop explained the essence of the initiatives submitted recently by the DPRK Government with a view to reducing the level of military confrontation on the Korean Peninsula and creating favorable conditions for resuming broad constructive dialogue between both parts of Korea.

A.I. Lukyanov stressed that the Soviet Union is invariably in sympathy with the course of the Workers Party of Korea and the DPRK government aimed at achieving a

political settlement in Korea on the basis of the withdrawal of the U.S. troops, a reduction in tension on the peninsula, and the development of North-South contacts with a view to restoring the country's unity in accordance with the interests and wishes of all Koreans.

The USSR and the DPRK are filled with determination to apply vigorous efforts to strengthen peace and stability in the Far East and Asia and create favorable conditions for the development of mutually beneficial cooperation between the countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

On the same day Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union had a conversation with the delegation. The guests were told about the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, its chambers' commissions, and committees.

DPRK Parliamentarians Complete USSR Visit
PM0408115189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Departure from Moscow"]

[Text] The DPRK Supreme People's Assembly delegation headed by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, left Moscow for home on 1 August. It was on an official friendly visit to our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On the day of its departure for Pyongyang the delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. The visitors also laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

Japanese Firm To Open Trade Office in Tashkent
OW0508084589 Moscow Radio in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] The Japanese trading firm (Kyori) will open a trade office in Tashkent, the capital of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, on 1 September on the basis of a relevant agreement between the Soviet Union and Japan. A representative of the firm has disclosed that (Kyori) will import high-performance machinery to the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic and export cotton, woolen yarn, and medicinal herbs produced in the republic.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Hun Sen Interviewed During Moscow Stopover
BK0408141789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1230 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Station correspondent's interview with Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the State of Cambodia, during his stopover in Moscow after attending the Paris International Conference on Cambodia—recorded; date not given]

[Text] [Question] What is your evaluation of the first phase of the Paris international conference on Cambodia?

[Hun Sen] I consider the ministerial meeting of the international conference on Cambodia as being a forum held in a constructive atmosphere. I think that this conference has accepted the results made by the first and second Jakarta informal meetings [JIM-I and JIM-II] as well as the results of the talks between Samdech Siha-nouk and myself.

It is true that the tripartite government, especially the Khmer Rouge, was not happy with the talks in Jakarta and attempted to destroy the fruits of JIM-I and JIM-2 concerning the two [as heard] key issues of the Cambodian problem—that is, the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, the prevention of the genocidal regime's return, the prevention of a civil war following the Vietnamese troop withdrawal, and the cessation of military aid and all foreign interference in Cambodia's internal affairs. Nevertheless, the conference took place in a constructive spirit in a bid to reach an early agreement on the solution to the Cambodian problem.

We can now regard the conference as being successful since a broad framework has been created for the settlement of the Cambodian problem and a range or target has been set for the work of various commissions pending the next ministerial meeting of the international conference.

It is true that Khmer Rouge head Khieu Samphan tried his best to sabotage this conference; but to no avail. We did not let the Khmer Rouge undermine the conference and make it sterile. We sought by all means, including the move by China, to put pressure on the Khmer Rouge to accept a number of decisions made by the conference in an effort to solve the Cambodian problem.

[Question] What is the present internal situation of Cambodia?

[Hun Sen] Cambodia's present internal situation can be considered very favorable for the struggle of the Cambodian people against the return of the genocidal Pol Pot regime and for developments in the economic and social fields.

I would like to inform you that regarding the military and security situation, so far many Vietnamese troops have been withdrawn. Only 26,000 Vietnamese troops remain in Cambodia and within about 50 days these remaining Vietnamese troops will leave. In the current situation in which there have been very few Vietnamese troops in Cambodia, the Cambodian armed forces' task of assuming their own responsibility and the participation of the Cambodian people in national defense has been extremely rewarding. The situation is stable and we are in an excellent offensive position to ensure the protection of the gains of the society accumulated over the past 10 years.

Therefore, I would like to assure you that with or without a political solution, the Vietnamese troops will completely leave Cambodia on 26 September and we are capable of ensuring the protection of the gains obtained by the society.

As you already know, in the past my party and government have undertaken profound reforms in the political, economic, and social fields, including changing the country's name and national flag and amending many articles of the Constitution. The economic reform has also brought about a new atmosphere for national reconciliation. Many opposition forces have surrendered to authorities and taken part in national reconciliation. From the success in the socioeconomic field, a political cheerfulness has arisen. There is also powerful encouragement for the implementation of the economic program set by the party and government, in which the state has authorized land ownership and free enterprises in farming, industry, and handicrafts and trade. Therefore, we can say that the state of affairs is good and that it can help provide even greater possibilities for finding solutions, including a political solution. We are capable of preventing the return to power of the Polpotist regime, and we can ensure that our country will develop and prosper in the not too distant future.

Hun Sen Leaves Moscow

LD0408185189 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers and foreign minister of Cambodia, who has participated in the initial stage of the international conference on Cambodia in Paris, left Moscow today.

At the airport he was seen off by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin, other Soviet officials and Cambodian charge d'affairs in the USSR Leng Peng Long.

Rogachev Interviewed on Cambodia Talks

PM0408113589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister and head of the Soviet delegation at the International Conference on Cambodia, by IZVESTIYA correspondents M. Ilinskiy and Yu. Kovalenko, under the "Panorama of International Events" rubric: "Cambodia: Program for a Settlement"; date of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Paris—"What is your opinion of the work of the International Conference on Cambodia and what are its immediate prospects?"—IZVESTIYA correspondents M. Ilinskiy and Yu. Kovalenko asked I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister and head of the Soviet delegation at the International Conference on Cambodia, this question.

[Rogachev] The Cambodian problem is based on an acute and complex international crisis. It is rooted in the past, it has caused vast human casualties, wrenched incalculable resources out of defense [as published—iz oborony—possibly misprint for "iz oborota"—out of circulation], and hampered good-neighborly relations.

The very fact that 19 foreign ministers and the UN Secretary General have taken part in the first stage of the work of the International Conference on Cambodia is very indicative. This primarily illustrates the strength of the desire manifested by governments, peoples, and the public to relegate another international regional conflict to the past—and settle the Cambodian problem. That is why the convocation and work of the Paris forum was a major event in international life.

The entire foreign political climate characteristic of the late-1980's has created favorable conditions for the successful progress of the conference. However, no one can say: "We've been given the green light. Let's step on the gas a bit more and the conflict will be settled." Very many difficulties still lie ahead. Cold head winds are still blowing and it does not take a great political mind to wreck the Paris conference and prevent it from achieving the end result—an all-embracing solution to the Cambodian problem.

Why am I talking about this? Because several participants in the conference, primarily the "Khmer Rouge," have done everything to impede the adoption of the conference's initial documents. It was a question of organizational questions, the creation of working commissions, and sending a UN technical mission to Cambodia to gather information and prepare a report necessary for the future work of an international verification mechanism. Khieu Samphan, representative of the Pol Pot followers, tried on three occasions to employ his right of veto (the principle of unanimity is in operation at the conference). The debates were trenchant. It seemed that the conference wheels were beginning to mark time. It was only the diplomatic art of the cochairmen and most of the participants in the meeting that made it possible to extricate the conference from deadlock.

The forum is progressing in accordance with the schedule elaborated by the French side. Let me note particularly that all the participants in the meeting on Avenue Kleber are grateful to French President F. Mitterrand, Foreign Minister R. Dumas, and the French Foreign Ministry apparatus, which have taken on the mission of organizing the international conference and provided it with material and technical services.

We consider it a great achievement that a UN technical mission will gather in Bangkok in the next few days and go on from there to Phnom Penh to gather the requisite data for a future international verification mechanism. I will recall that heated disputes arose over this question at the conference. The Pol Pot representative (it would not be superfluous to say that the Pol Pot supporters are

still continuing to illegally occupy Cambodia's seat at the United Nations) made a resolute objection to the sending of such a UN mission to Cambodia. Why? The reasons are clear: It has nothing to show on Cambodian territory and only, possibly, individual mountains and impassable paths through the jungle in the area of the Thai-Cambodian border. Moreover, Khieu Samphan was also, evidently, governed by the fear of revealing the location of secret bases and weapons dumps containing foreign weapons.

On the other hand, the Cambodian Government has displayed readiness to give the UN technical mission comprehensive assistance. The stance of the State of Cambodia delegation is notable for the concrete and well-considered nature of its standpoints and its readiness for reasonable compromises and to consider the balance of interests of the sides. The head of the Cambodian Government submitted a draft agreement to the conference on the cessation of the war and the attainment of an agreement between the opposing groupings.

Thus, the conference has entered a phase of strenuous work. As the French spokesman said, we have only 15 working days ahead in all in which we must work day and night to prepare documents to be approved by the foreign ministers at the end of August.

All the participants in the Paris forum are in principle united in the belief that an all-embracing settlement of the Cambodian problem is necessary. But the most pressing questions for resolution must be singled out from the total package of questions. The recognition that one must not proceed on the basis of the principle of "all or nothing" is blazing a trail for itself with increasing vigor.

To date a whole series of questions linked with the foreign political aspect of a settlement have definitely been clarified. Which precisely? Announcements have been made concerning the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Cambodian territory by the end of September 1989, the prevention of the restoration of the genocidal regime and civil war in Cambodia, the need to stop foreign military aid to all conflicting groupings, and safeguards for and guarantees of Cambodia's status as an independent, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned state, and so on. Thus mutual understanding has on the whole, barring certain nuances, been achieved on the foreign policy aspects and there is no need to wait when conditions are ripe for coordinating all contentious issues concerning the foreign policy aspects of the Cambodian problem. We must proceed in stages, this suggests policy realism and precise consideration for the development of the specific situation.

It is hard to make prognoses when talking about the prospects for the Paris conference. It is not impossible that another phase of talks will be necessary which it has been agreed to hold in Jakarta. Everyone realizes that the Cambodian side has the final say. In the viewpoint of the

conference participants it is important that inter-Cambodian dialogue should continue. The sooner the sides reach an agreement, the sooner an all-embracing settlement of the Cambodian problem will be attained.

Lao Foreign Minister Views Cambodia Issue

PM0408104789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Phoun Sipaseut, member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo and Lao foreign minister, by own correspondent P. Tsvetov in Vientiane under the heading "For Peace and Stability in Cambodia"—date unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Lao People's Democratic Republic is among the participants in the conference on Cambodia. Before the delegation flew to Paris, P. Tsvetov, PRAVDA's own correspondent in Vientiane, had a meeting at the airport with the head of the delegation—Phoun Sipaseut, member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) Central Committee Politburo and Lao foreign minister.

"In our opinion," his interlocutor said, "the international conference could discuss such questions as those of safeguarding peace in Cambodia and its sovereignty and territorial integrity and forming an international control mechanism for monitoring the withdrawal of foreign troops, the prevention of Pol Pot's regime of genocide being restored, the termination of arms supplies to the conflicting sides, the cessation of outside interference, observance of the cease-fire, and the return of refugees. Evidently it will be worthwhile discussing the contribution of the international community to Cambodia's postwar restoration.

"Other questions will possibly also be discussed. We, for example, believe that turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality, friendship, and cooperation would also be a contribution to ensuring lasting peace and stability in Cambodia, the Asian and Pacific region, and the whole world.

"The external aspects of the Cambodian problem will be the focus of the international community in Paris. The internal questions must, of course, be decided by the Cambodian people themselves and all the Cambodian sides. Measures must be taken against a return to power by the Pol Pot followers, who created a barbarous regime in the past and who continue to pose a threat to the Cambodian people and peace and security in the region. There must be guarantees for the accords reached by the Cambodian sides on the basis of respect for the fundamental rights of the State of Cambodia and primarily its people's right to self-determination.

"With regard to the role played by our delegation at the conference," Phoun Sipaseut said, "as direct neighbors of Cambodia we are constantly and actively involved in the search for a political settlement of the Cambodian

problem and the restoration of peace in this country. The Lao delegation will do everything possible to ensure that success is attained in Paris in order to safeguard the legitimate interests of the Cambodian people."

Paris Cambodia Forum Previewed

PM0308121589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Cambodia: Dialogue Resumes"]

[Text] Paris—After an unproductive first round, the participants in the quadripartite Cambodia meeting sat down at the negotiating table again on Thursday in Chateau La Celle Saint Cloud near Paris.

On the eve of the talks it seemed that the situation had reached an impasse—so great were the differences between Hun Sen, chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers and Cambodian foreign minister, and the leaders of the three opposition groups. No compromise is possible on any of the subjects under discussion, some observers said, and the international conference on Cambodia opening in Paris on 30 July will not produce any results.

"We disagree totally," Prince Norodom Sihanouk, leader of the opposition, said. "The situation is worse now than it was before and the mood is extremely pessimistic...." Here he added: "At the Quai d'Orsay (the French Foreign Ministry) people have said to me: 'Don't be too pessimistic.'"

One can assume that the prince will heed this advice, but, in any case, a considerably important role has been played by France in building the dialogue; together with Indonesia, it is cochairing the conference. French Foreign Minister R. Dumas has urged the four sides in the talks to "overcome their personal bias and rise to common national interests." R. Dumas has had talks with all of them, apart from the "Khmer Rouge" leader, Khieu Samphan. So the Khmer dialogue, broken off 2 days ago, is now being resumed. (On Thursday French Prime Minister M. Rocard received Hun Sen and discussed the whole range of Cambodian problems with him).

During the new round of talks in Chateau La Celle Saint Cloud, the main question will be that of the composition of the Cambodian delegation to the Paris conference. Hun Sen proposes that Cambodia be represented by two delegations: One from Phnom Penh and the other from the opposition. Prince Sihanouk is insisting on a single delegation, although Hun Sen is hardly likely to agree to represent his country together with Pol Pot followers at this forum.

As already noted, Prince Sihanouk has rejected accords reached earlier and is now demanding "Khmer Rouge" participation in the resolution of all questions connected with settling the conflict, claiming that this is the only way to avoid civil war.

But the majority of the states which will be meeting in Paris for the international conference categorically reject any prospect of reviving the Pol Pot regime and are insisting on the appropriate guarantees. The stand taken by the United States is typical in this respect: It is in favor of a political settlement of the conflict and the formation of a coalition government led by Norodom Sihanouk, but without any significant "Khmer Rouge" participation. Statements are sometimes made by U.S. officials, the essence of which amounts to the following: The fewer Pol Pot followers there are in Cambodia, the better our relations with that country will be. Washington considers the holding of free elections in this country an important feature and intends to respect their results.

The question of power in Cambodia is not a simple one. In the transitional period, Phnom Penh proposes to establish a Supreme Council of National Reconciliation led by Norodom Sihanouk, which will include all sides involved in the conflict. This council could be responsible for preparing for the elections.

As a whole, the problems of Cambodia's future are very complex. Many capitals are in favor of these problems being resolved by the Cambodians without any outside interference. Peace can only be reached in this country, it is stressed in the memorandum which Paris sent to the participants in the forthcoming conference, if the Cambodians demonstrate their resolve to follow a path of accord.

In Paris, one sometimes hears the opinion that the conference on Cambodia is premature and that the conditions are not right for it, because the inter-Khmer dialogue has reached deadlock.

It is hard to agree with this point of view. In a month's time Vietnam will have withdrawn its troops from this country and one of the main obstacles to a settlement will thereby be removed. It is true that not every question has been "worked out" equally. The Paris forum could adopt important decisions on a whole number of international aspects—including the creation of a verification mechanism and the termination of foreign military aid to all parties—and thereby contribute to resolving the conflict. The chances of success seem to be improved by the high level of its participants: The foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, and other countries will be coming to the French capital.

In addition to this, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar will be taking part in the conference. This international organization will undoubtedly make its own contribution to the process of reaching a peace settlement. It has already become involved. Informal consultations are being held at the UN headquarters in

New York. The deputy UN secretary general has visited Phnom Penh more than once and talked with everyone involved in the conflict. But even here there are difficulties, because Cambodia's seat in the United Nations is held by the so-called "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea," which unites the opposition.

In short, the international conference has to resolve many difficult problems, the main one being to accelerate as much as possible the process of ending the conflict which has lasted for so many years and is having a destabilizing effect on the entire Southeast Asian region.

Burmese Papers Criticize Opposition Party

BK0508133589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1030 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Here is a commentary based on a dispatch from TASS correspondent in Yangon [Rangoon] (Igor Leyev).

The WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY and LOKTHA PYEITHU NEZIN published by the Burmese Government have been severely criticizing leaders of the most well known opposition party in Burma, the National League for Democracy [NLD], Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and former General Tin U.

An article in the 29 July issue of the WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY listed at least 14 points to support its allegations that the opposition leader, Daw Aung Suu Kyi, had deliberately attempted to make political parties, people, and democratic forces confront and oppose the martial law provisions, to sow dissension within the Defense Services, and to make the people resent the military government policy.

On the next day, the same paper said the Defense Services had to arrange strict security measures during her countrywide tours to prevent any untoward incident which would adversely affect the people. The Myanmar [Burmese] papers also charged that she demanded to hold talks with national leaders to secure special privileges for her own self and her party.

The TASS correspondent pointed out that the government newspapers kept quiet about the fact that after a long period of consultations among the political parties in Myanmar [Burma], Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was selected as the sole representative of over 70 political parties to hold talks with the State Law and Order Restoration Council [SLORC]. Presently, the SLORC is refusing to hold any kind of talks with the opposition.

The WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY alleged that some people are using any issue to attack the government and making one demand after another without considering the genuine national interests and the government's potential. These allegations appear to reflect the military government's stance.

The opposition party leaders have been charged with exploiting democratic rights and ignoring the plight of the people who are being affected by rising prices of commodities.

Listeners, when Moscow Radio observer, Vladimir Aleksandrov, was approached to comment on these reports from Yangon, he said he had mixed feelings about these reports.

He said it cannot be refuted as the official media of the Myanmar Government had said that democracy can be achieved only through peace and tranquillity. It must be pointed out here that the people need a peaceful atmosphere to enable all parties to make preparations to hold the elections to achieve this goal. On the other hand, the Moscow Radio observer expressed concern that the measures that had been taken against the leaders of the NLD could destroy the balance necessary to obtain a peaceful situation toward holding the elections.

Commentary on Issue of U.S. Bases in Philippines

HK0708074389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Commentary by Anatoliy Aleksandrov]

[Text] Discussions have been going on for some time about the need for a commission to study alternatives for transforming the American military bases in the Philippines for civilian use. The treaty covering the bases expires in 2 years' time and the question of what the Philippine Government will do with the bases has long been discussed. The government has announced that a commission will be set up to study the various options, and the guidelines have now been set out under which the new commission will work. The commission will be made up of 17 members, 9 of them to be appointed by the president. Each chamber of Congress will be represented by four deputies. The top-level nature of the commission's membership manifests the importance of the issue posed by American military bases, which have long disturbed Philippine society.

It is common knowledge that some segments of Filipino society view the foreign military bases as destructive to national sovereignty. Others consider the bases a source of military threat. This is because, according to various evidence, nuclear weapons are secretly stored in those bases, and Filipinos are uncertain about what the generals in the Pentagon may do. On the other hand, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the military bases provide employment to almost 70,000 people; and while unemployment remains high in the country, the question of closing down the bases remains a sensitive issue for the government.

In my opinion, using Subic Bay and Clark Field for peaceful purposes would require the same number of employees.

Additionally, a belief that the bases provide protection to the country has been nurtured through the years. However, there is a strong argument against this belief. Filipinos have been warned in the past that Soviet ships which docked in the naval supply facility in Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam proved that the Soviet Union has a large base there which poses a danger to the entire Southeast Asian region. Now that Moscow has proposed the simultaneous removal of this facility—which can hardly be called a base—along with the bases at Clark Field and Subic Bay, Washington seems to have forgotten its earlier allegation. In the meantime, there is still no response to the Soviet proposal.

It is difficult to say which arguments will be employed in favor of or against the bases. The Aquino government has not clearly stated its position on this issue in a bid to maintain its options. Meanwhile, it is preparing a study on the various ways to convert the military facilities for civilian uses. What are these options being considered? In particular, there is a proposal to build an international airport, and to transform Subic Naval Base into a commercial port.

Talks between the United States and the Philippines on the future of the military facilities, whose treaty expires in 1991, will begin in a few months. Washington is pushing for an extension of her military presence in the country. As announced on television by the former Economic Planning Secretary Solita Monsod, the United States is exerting pressure on the Philippines by promising large financial assistance. In fact, this is the multilateral aid initiative.

The Philippines, which has a \$28-billion foreign debt, is naturally interested in receiving such assistance, which may amount to as much as \$10 billion. The talks on the bases at the end of this year promise to be difficult. It is believed that the establishment of a commission to study alternative uses for the bases signals a hopeful beginning.

Near East & South Asia

Reportage on Shevardnadze's Visit to Afghanistan

Leaves Tashkent for Kabul

LD0608031689 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0304 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 6 Aug (TASS)—On 6 August, E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, left Tashkent for Kabul on a working visit.

Arrives in Kabul

LD0608090289 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 0830 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze has arrived in the Afghan capital. He was met at Kabul International Airport by Keshtmand, member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Central Committee

Politburo and chairman of the Afghan Council of Ministers Executive Committee; by Wakil, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and Afghan foreign minister; and by other republic party and state figures.

Comments on Kabul Talks

LD0608163489 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1430 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Interview with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent V. Fadeyev in Kabul on 6 August; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Fadeyev] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, if you can, may we have a few words about the aims of your current working visit to Kabul?

[Shevardnadze] As for the aims, it is a perfectly natural procedure, a natural need. It is already 5 months since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. We have, of course, been attempting, been trying together with the comrade president, to draw up some results. I want to say literally in two words that truly profound, important changes have taken place here. You feel that the people are in the mood to defend their independence, their autonomy, and the freedom of their country and their motherland. An interesting process is under way in the return of refugees. That is to say, confidence in the government is growing and the armed forces have grown stronger. If we bear in mind the fact that there is now not a single Soviet soldier, or really any Soviet military advisers, and that all operations are being carried out completely independently by the Afghan Army and Armed Forces of Afghanistan, I think we can conclude from that that the decision to withdraw the Soviet troops was the only correct and proper decision.

We talked about the prospects for a political settlement. The inter-Afghan dialogue, including that with representatives of the opposition, is developing. There is a lot of work going on with the field commanders. Recently many field commanders have come over to the government side.

We noted the very constructive position adopted by the Iranian leadership toward the Afghan question and an Afghan settlement. The attitude toward Afghanistan and to the people's power in Afghanistan in the international arena has changed significantly. We can now say that both the president and the Afghan Government enjoy the necessary prestige, influence, and popularity not only in the country, but beyond Afghanistan.

Our talks will continue. I want to add: Do you remember when the decision to withdraw Soviet troops was made? Mikhail Sergeevich then said that we would give moral, political, and material support. I think our Afghan friends will confirm that this was not mere words. Moreover, this policy of the Soviet Government enjoys the support, active support, of our public.

In conclusion, I would like to take the opportunity to thank the comrade president, Comrade Najibullah, for showing great commitment to the solution of a very sensitive, painful, and aching problem for our people: This is the release of prisoners of war, Soviet boys who have found themselves, so to speak, on the other side. I know that the president is doing everything, everything he can, everything the Afghan leadership can, to resolve this question, taking into account the concern and anxiety of the Soviet people and the Soviet nation. [video shows Shevardnadze on divan, with Najibullah at other end, speaking to Fadeyev]

Visit to Kabul Described

LD0608161989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul, 6 Aug (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, was in Kabul on 6 August on a working visit. During his stay in the Afghan capital, E.A. Shevardnadze met Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, and other leaders of the country.

E.A. Shevardnadze handed Najibullah a friendly personal greeting from M.S. Gorbachev.

During the talks with the president, which as always took place in a friendly and businesslike tone, matters relating to the situation in and around Afghanistan occupied a central place. The sides affirmed the firm adherence of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan to the fundamental objective of swiftly finding political ways of solving the Afghan problem through nationwide dialogue and reconciliation, and of maintaining an independent, non-aligned, and neutral Afghanistan which is friendly to its neighbors.

It was noted that following the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, in precise accordance with the Geneva agreements, the existing republican regime has not only convincingly proved its viability, but is also constantly increasing its influence in the country and augmenting its authority in the international arena. It was stressed that events in recent months have quite graphically demonstrated the correctness of the argument that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful methods of bringing the Afghan conflict to a close and that in the present situation, even more favorable preconditions are appearing for an immediate end to the bloody civil war between the Afghans, on the basis of reasonable compromises and national unification.

Particular attention was paid to the danger caused by the new spiral of interference in Afghan affairs by Pakistan, the United States, and Saudi Arabia, which are openly inciting the opposition to stir up civil strife and to overthrow by force the legitimate Government of Afghanistan, a danger which is fraught with unpredictable consequences for the whole region. Having stressed

the lack of prospects for such an approach to the problem, the sides described it as an unconcealed violation of international norms and duties under the Geneva accords and disregard for the resolution of the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly.

Common conviction was expressed of the need for the peacemaking role of the United Nations to be stepped up further in the search for ways of settling the foreign and domestic aspects of this conflict and of involving countries bordering Afghanistan, the Nonaligned Movement, and the international community in this process. The initiative was affirmed once again on the Soviet and the Afghan sides to hold a representative international conference on Afghanistan, and readiness was expressed to consider attentively any other similar proposal which could help to find the shortest road to a comprehensive and just Afghan settlement.

The USSR foreign minister stressed that the USSR fully supports the political course being followed by the Afghan leadership, continues and will continue to provide Afghanistan with diverse aid and assistance in the defense of the republic and the economic and cultural development of Afghanistan.

The problem of releasing as quickly as possible the Soviet servicemen languishing in the captivity of opposition groups was the subject of special discussion at the talks. On this matter the sides worked out a coordinated program for further joint actions.

During a meeting with S.A. Keshtmand, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan, there was a detailed exchange of views on matters concerning bilateral Soviet-Afghan relations and cooperation in various fields. It was noted that, despite the complicated military and political situation in the country, the USSR continues, in accordance with its current obligations, to provide the Republic of Afghanistan with broad and diverse assistance, including economic assistance. This aid and assistance will continue to be provided in the future in the most diverse directions, including through direct ties between Soviet republics, oblasts, and towns and Afghan partners.

The Soviet side expressed its readiness to help settle refugees returning to Afghanistan and promote the restoration of the economy of the country within the framework of the Soviet contribution to the program of extraordinary economic and humanitarian aid to Afghanistan through UN channels.

At E.A. Shevardnadze's meeting with A. Wakil, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, special attention was paid to questions of coordinating the foreign policy efforts of the two countries in the interests of forming favorable external conditions for an Afghan settlement, particularly in the context of the forthcoming 44th session of the UN General Assembly. A. Wakil gave information about the preparations being undertaken in

Afghanistan in connection with the 9th Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, and stressed the faithfulness of the Republic of Afghanistan to the ideals of this movement.

In E.A. Shevardnadze's conversations with S. Tanay, minister of defense of Afghanistan, G.F. Yaiqubi, minister of State Security, and M.A. Watanjar, minister of Interior, there was a thorough exchange of opinions on specific aspects of the situation and on the state of the country's armed forces.

In the course of the meetings and conversations with the Afghan side, it was stressed that its general line will continue to be based on displaying, as before, the necessary flexibility and constructiveness, while giving a proper rebuff to opposition attempts to usurp power and eliminate the government by coercive methods, in order starting an inter-Afghan dialogue which would have the ultimate aim of achieving national accord between Afghans.

On the Soviet side it was stated that such a policy meets with its full understanding and support, and that the Soviet Union will continue to do everything in its power to aid the realization of an Afghan political settlement.

Departs Kabul Following Visit

*LD0608162289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1613 GMT 6 Aug 89*

[Text] Kabul, 6 Aug—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign affairs, who has been here on a short working visit, left Kabul today for home.

Soviet Delegate Interviewed on Afghanistan Talks

*LD0508110689 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 0230 GMT 5 Aug 89*

[Interview with Nikolay Ivanovich Kozyrev, ambassador-at-large and leader of Soviet delegation at Stockholm talks, by correspondent V. Gubernatorov; from the "120 Minutes" program; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified presenter] We have already told you that the Soviet-U.S. consultations on the Afghan question have ended in Stockholm. We have received the following report on this subject from correspondent V. Gubernatorov:

[Gubernatorov] This was the first Soviet-U.S. meeting following the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan. As usual, the talks were held behind closed doors, but at a press conference which was held afterwards, Kozyrev, ambassador-at-large and leader of the Soviet delegation, noted that they were frank talks, and both sides tried to find joint approaches to a settlement to the Afghan problem. The Afghan crisis, the Soviet ambassador emphasized, could be solved only by peaceful, political methods, but to achieve this it is necessary to strictly

adhere to all the points of the Geneva agreement. So far, only one point has been fulfilled: The Soviet troops have been withdrawn, but combat operations and armed assistance to the opposition continue. Also necessary are constructive talks on setting up a coalition government on a broad basis, including representatives of the present, true authorities in Afghanistan.

[Begin recording] [Gubernatorov] Nikolay Ivanovich, tell me please, what now are the main differences in approach to a solution to the Afghan problem between the Soviet side and the United States?

[Kozyrev] I think the differences in these approaches may be determined first and foremost by attitudes to the actual situation existing in Afghanistan today. Unfortunately, there are strong differences in the appraisal of this situation and the prospects for its development between us and the U.S. side. We proceed from the fact that, as of late, and particularly since the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan has become more and more stable and is proving how capable it is, which was clearly demonstrated in the fighting outside Jalalabad and other Afghan towns—Khowst, Qandahar, and so on. There has been a clear increase in patriotic feelings among the Afghan people, who are opposing aggression from Pakistani territory and who are ready to fight for their freedom and independence.

As far as the U.S. side is concerned, it has clearly not yet taken these realities into account or doesn't believe that they exist. They continue to direct themselves toward a military solution to the Afghan problem, and believe that in the long term it is the armed opposition which will be victorious. Such an approach clearly runs counter to the policy of a political settlement to the Afghan question, because there is simply no alternative to this political solution.

[Gubernatorov] Has there been any discussion about the release of the Soviet prisoners-of-war?

[Kozyrev] Yes, this question was raised during our consultations. I must say that the U.S. side showed understanding about the anxiety existing among the Soviet public about the fate of our troops who were captured in Afghanistan, and they expressed readiness to render strong cooperation with regard to elucidating the fate of our prisoners of war and practical assistance in releasing them. [end recording]

Delegate to Stockholm Afghanistan Talks Cited

*PM0308141689 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER
in Swedish 2 Aug 89 p 10*

[Goran Ahren and Jan Malmberg report: "Afghanistan Meeting: United States Rejects Soviet Proposals"]

[Text] Stockholm—Yesterday the United States rejected the Soviet Union's proposal of a bilateral halt to arms supplies to Afghanistan. Both sides declared that they intend to continue their support for the two sides in the war.

The Stockholm meeting on Afghanistan between the two superpowers did not produce any results. The two sides, who held 2 days of talks at deputy foreign minister level, are still far apart.

The head of the Soviet delegation, Nikolay Koryzev, confirmed at a press conference after the meeting that the Soviet Union had put forward a proposal for limitations on arms supplies.

"The U.S. side proved to be unwilling to accept such limitations," Kozyrev said.

"The mujahidin and the United States will continue their armed struggle against the government in Kabul," Kozyrev added, saying that the United States was only prepared to discuss limitations on the supply of arms if the government in Kabul resigns.

The chief Soviet negotiator also said that the Soviet Union wants a broad political settlement with a coalition government comprising all the involved parties. He accused the United States of listening to and supporting the most extremist forces among the resistance groupings.

The chief U.S. negotiator, Assistant Secretary of State John Kelly, also admitted that the differences are still great.

"Unfortunately I have to say that we did not reach any agreement," John Kelly said after the meeting.

"We still think that it is the view of the Afghan people that a new government is needed in Kabul. The Soviet Union clearly takes a different view, and this is demonstrated by the fact that it is supplying the Kabul government with arms worth \$200 million every month to keep it in power.

"Of course we and our friends in Pakistan and the mujahidin guerilla groups think that that 10 years of war must now come to a rapid end, but a prerequisite for this is the installation of a new government in Kabul which represents the mujahidin and what they have been fighting for for 10 years," John Kelly said.

Nikolay Kozyrev is critical of the U.S. stance of refusing to discuss limitations on arms supplies as long as the Kabul government remains in power.

"As we see it, it is simply a way of continuing the armed conflict. It is no way of achieving a political solution."

According to Kozyrev, the Soviet Union wants to achieve a three-point political solution. The first point is that all parties should strictly observe the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan.

The second point in the Soviet proposals is an end to all foreign interference. The third is to try to create a broad base for a coalition government in the country.

"We have to take account of all the political realities in the country, otherwise we cannot achieve a solution. The Americans do not take account of all the forces in Afghanistan. On the contrary, they are influenced by the most extremist of the seven parties in opposition," Nikolay Kozyrev said.

Asked whether the economic side of the Soviet Union's aid to Afghanistan is considerable, Kozyrev replied that the financial aspect is not the most important.

"It is our intention to continue our aid," he said.

Reports of Soviet Troops in Kabul 'Red Herring'
*LD0408131589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1205 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] Another anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet "red herring" has emerged from the pages of a number of Pakistani press organs. This time, quoting the "Afghan News Agency," an "agency" set up by the so-called "irreconcilables," they assert that 1,500 Soviet servicemen have arrived in Kabul, whose task it is to "ensure the safety of the city."

"It has become a kind of rule that the opponents of a settlement, in trying to distract public attention from their own course of blatant intervention in the efforts of a sovereign country, are undertaking various kinds of unseemly propagandistic maneuvers," Yu. Alekseyev, head of the Middle East department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told me. "Among such maneuvers are reports on the transfer of Soviet servicemen to Kabul. This is a fabrication. The Soviet Union is precisely and consistently adhering to the spirit and letter of the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, which unfortunately cannot be said of Islamabad, whose signature also stands at the bottom of these agreements."

It remains to be added that the disinformation which was, to all appearances, composed at the headquarters of the rebels, not without prompting from without, has been seized upon not only by Pakistani newspapers but by some Western information agencies as well. They have obviously been in a hurry to take the bait thrown to them. Now they have gotten themselves into a mess.

Yu. Kornilov, political observer.

Afghan Minister on PRC Arms Supplies
*LD0408190289 Moscow TASS in English
1755 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—Today when there are no Soviet troops left in Afghanistan, when the word jihad rings hollow, the Afghan Government exerts every effort to strengthen peace in the country, Afghan Deputy Prime Minister Sarwaw Mangal told TASS journalists Igor

Agabekov and Boris Zverev. However, "We have not received a single peace proposal from the opposition. Our people want peace and, naturally, the prestige of the opposition is falling."

Mangal, who is in the USSR attending the Soviet-Afghan commission on economic cooperation, said that the talks in Moscow focused on all problems of cooperation between the two countries, as well as the military political situation in Afghanistan.

He noted that the military situation in the country has deteriorated. After failing to score any successes in the battlefield, the armed opposition resorts to large-scale terrorism, rocket attacks on cities, blocking roads, staging acts of sabotage against civilian facilities and killing civilians.

The rebels are now preoccupied with their internal problems. With every day they lose ability to resist and fight us, lose prestige among the Afghan people and in the international arena. The longer the opposition refuses to hold political negotiations, the lesser its chances and the right to take part in the future coalition government.

Speaking on arms supplies by China to the opposition diehards, Mangal expressed the hope that the current changes in China's foreign policy will help terminate these supplies. "We can feel certain changes in China's approach to various problems, primarily to the problem of Afghanistan," he said.

Speaking about Pakistan's policy viz a viz Afghanistan, the deputy prime minister stated with regret that Pakistan does not act as a free and independent state, and yields to open pressure from the United States and Saudi Arabia. He expressed the opinion that Islamabad should be interested in finding a political solution to the Afghan problem and a peaceful way out of the current situation.

Afghan Official Interviewed at Moscow Stopover
*LD0408224489 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT
4 Aug 89*

[Text] Moscow August 5 TASS—"The Afghan problem can be solved only by political means, and we have concrete proposals to achieve this goal," a senior Afghan official told Soviet reporters on Friday in Moscow.

Najmuddin Kawiani, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, made a short stopover in the Soviet capital on his way home from a European trip.

Kawiani said that the situation in his country remains very tense and that the ongoing interference of Pakistan, the United States and a number of other countries in Afghanistan's affairs evokes grave concern.

Developments show that opposition forces cannot achieve their goals by military means and that government troops can uphold their positions despite the Soviet troop withdrawal, he said.

"The government proposes to the opposition to immediately announce a ceasefire and open direct negotiations," Kawiani said.

"Then the sides could set up joint committees that would include representatives of the opposition and the Kabul government. These committees would supervise direct elections to parliament by secret ballot and the drafting of a new constitution. The final result would be the election of a new broadly-based government by parliament."

Kawiani highly assessed Thursday's statement by U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar who urged the parties to the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and their guarantors to ensure scrupulous and honest fulfillment of all their commitments.

Further Reportage on Hostage Situation

Escalation of Crisis Viewed
*LD0608175489 Moscow International Service
in Arabic 1400 GMT 6 Aug 89*

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin]

[Text] There are incoming reports of increasing tension in the Middle East and of meetings held at the White House to examine the various actions that could be taken, including military action against Lebanon. Thus, the United States has massed its warships in the eastern Mediterranean and the Israeli authorities have also announced their determination to use the harshest measures in the future, including measures similar to the kidnapping of the prominent Lebanese Shi'ite figure, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd. For their part, the representatives of the Shi'ite group have announced their readiness to begin a series of reckless actions against the United States and Israel.

Our commentator Aleksandr Pogodin says: The situation is becoming increasingly dangerous. It is significant that more and more observers are linking this acute escalation with Israel's illegal action which has become a pretext for the explosion of violence. But the (?attitude) of the Israeli authorities is also to blame. Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin announced in the parliament that during the debate on the right to kidnap Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd by the government all possible types of reactions were examined, including the execution of the hostages. This means that Tel Aviv carried out its action deliberately in order to trigger off chain reactions of violence.

Israel has on many occasions created a new explosive situation hoping that it will not be punished for its frivolous acts of piracy. The calls which are mounting in

Washington for a military action against Lebanon and even Iran are also causing concern. In view of the existing situation, this is regrettable as contacts on the fate of the hostages in Lebanon has been taking place over a long period of time and there was hope that more would be known about their fate.

The statement released by the Soviet Foreign Ministry stated that it was necessary, in the present situation, to break the spiral of acts of violence at once. Emotions should not be allowed to dominate reason. The Soviet Union is convinced that all those interested in a just settlement of the Lebanese issue should control themselves and remain calm and tolerant because the escalation of violence could be an obstacle to the process of the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, especially now that this process is gaining momentum.

The Soviet Union is taking active steps to prevent other crimes being committed in Lebanon and also to ensure the release of the hostages and the kidnapped people. The escalation in Lebanon caused by the issue of the hostages and the kidnapped people was discussed in Moscow last Wednesday during a meeting between the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, and U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock. This topic was also dealt with during Shevardnadze's working visit to Tehran.

UN Talks With Hizballah on Hostages

LD0508094489 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] Beirut August 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Onishchenko: Marrack Goulding, U.N. under-secretary general, on Friday [4 August] continued contacts with leaders of the pro-Iranian Hizballah organisation in the southern suburbs of western Beirut to discuss the problem of foreign hostages held in Lebanon.

Upon the completion of the talks he stated that he did not receive a confirmation of the hanging of American Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins, the extradition of whose body he seeks.

Today the U.N. official will go to the Syrian capital where he intends to meet Syrian leaders to discuss the possibility of putting pressure on extremists holding hostages in Lebanon.

Meanwhile, although Goulding's talks with Hizballah representatives produced no results, in the Lebanese political circles they look on the whole optimistically on the possibility of an early release of hostages.

Demonstrations to protest the kidnapping by Israelis of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd were staged by Islamic fundamentalists in the southern suburbs of western Beirut on Friday. Their participants carried posters demanding an immediate release of 'Ubayd and also inmates of Israeli prisons.

According to the latest radio reports, the Hizballah organization is moving its militants and also weapons and ammunition to the border of the "security zone" for fear of an Israeli armed action against its targets. More than 600 Hizballah fighting men, guns, mortars, and anti-Aircraft defence systems have been concentrated there by now.

'Ubayd Abduction Criticized

NC0508130489 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Esteemed listeners: During the talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the Iranian president, the issue of Lebanon, among other things, was discussed. The Soviet foreign minister expressed serious concern over the abduction of Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd, one of the leaders of the Shiite group Hizballah, by Israeli commandos and the execution of William Higgins. Our commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes in this regard:

One act of belligerence begets another. One act of terrorism spawns other similar acts. Unfortunately, the truth of this statement is confirmed by the events surrounding the abduction of Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd, leader of the Shiite group Hizballah, by Israeli commandos. The abduction took place in the early hours of 29 July in the residential area of Jibshit in southern Lebanon. Israeli Air Force helicopters carrying a group of some 40 to 50 commandos landed in the vicinity of this village. Ten commandos were directly involved in the abduction and the others assisted by blocking the roads in and leading to Jibshit. One of the shaykh's guards opened fire but was killed. In the final phase of the operation, the kidnappers were fired upon from a neighboring house. 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd and some other Hizballahis were wounded in the crossfire. The Israeli abductors also seized two of the shaykh's relatives as well. According to reports, the Israelis are at present subjecting Shaykh 'Ubayd to violent interrogation and (?torture) in order to coerce information on the Hizballah organization's operations from him.

Iran was the first country to react publicly to this bellicose act. Four hours after the abduction, Interior Minister 'Ali Akbar Mohtashami said that the capture of Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd was tantamount to government-sponsored terrorism, and he strongly condemned the Israeli actions. He added: In Tehran's view, the United States is involved in this act of terrorism. In any case the efforts to unravel the dilemma continue.

In Lebanon, a group calling itself the Oppressed on Earth warned Israel to release Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd. After its deadline passed, this group announced that U.S. Marine Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins had been executed. He had been serving with the UN forces in Lebanon. Last Monday, the Oppressed on Earth group

released a videotape of the executed U.S. hostage who was shown bound and gagged. This group also threatened that Anglican Church envoy Terry Waite would be killed if the shaykh was not released. Another Shiite group called the Revolutionary Justice Organization announced it would kill U.S. hostage Joseph Ciccipio if Israel did not release the Shi'ite leader. This organization had planned to kill Ciccipio on Monday night [as heard], but then announced that they had postponed the execution after pleas from his friends and his wife.

Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani has stated that Iran has no connection with the tragic events in Lebanon. He expressed deep regret over the execution of the U.S. colonel and condemned all terrorist actions. He proposed that measures to ease tension in Lebanon be adopted immediately. Meanwhile, Israel suggested that all Lebanese Shiites in Israeli custody, including Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd, be exchanged for the Western hostages and three Israeli soldiers who were captured by Hizballah earlier. However, the representatives of this group rejected the Israeli proposal, terming it an attempt to blackmail them. Tel Aviv has announced that it will not budge in the face of such threats.

These are the facts of the present tragic events. It is appropriate that we should ponder what the exacerbation of the present situation in Lebanon entails. The situation was aggravated at a time when there was an opportunity to eliminate the crisis in the Near East. There had been a marked tendency recently for various warring political factions to resort to negotiations. The abduction of Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd has harmed such negotiations and created an atmosphere of terror and intransigence.

Tel Aviv has further exacerbated the situation in Lebanon by such actions and has minimized the chances of any constructive contacts with the Islamic groupings. In addition, the present circumstances have provided a favorable situation for overt U.S. interference in Lebanon's affairs. It may therefore be said that the possibility of Washington's exerting direct military pressure on Shiite groupings does not seem too farfetched. As far as is known, this is exactly what the Israeli Government wants.

It is interesting to note that Shaykh 'Ubayd was abducted after most Hizballah leaders visited Tehran. During this visit, decisions were adopted to expand the struggle against the Israeli usurpers in the occupied areas of southern Lebanon. In response to this decision, Tel Aviv has abducted one of the Hizballah leaders. There is no doubt that this (?dastardly) act on the part of Israel blatantly violated Lebanon's national sovereignty.

A communique issued by the Soviet Foreign Ministry calls the Israeli operation an act of international terrorism which is vehemently denounced by the Soviet Union. According to the communique, this once again proved that Israel should renounce its usurpation of southern Lebanon and its intervention in its internal

affairs as soon as possible. At the same time the communique terms the execution of William Higgins an inhuman act and appeals for an end to the killing of hostages. The extraordinarily tense conditions created in Lebanon at present may culminate in a considerable escalation of belligerence and extortion and may have unforeseeable consequences. Now, more than ever, there is need for restraint and prudence.

Commentary on Kelly Talks With Palestinians
LD0408190789 Moscow International Service
in Arabic 1400 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Aleksey Zlatorunskiy commentary: "The Middle East and the Need for a Realistic Position"]

[Text] As has been announced previously, John Kelly, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Middle East Affairs, who is on his first visit to the region, has met with representatives of residents in the occupied territories. They included Radwan Abu 'Ayyash, chairman of the Palestinian Journalists' League; Faysal al-Husayni, manager of the Center of Arab Studies in East Jerusalem; Elias Furayj, head of the Municipality of Bethlehem; Dr Ghassan al-Khatib; and Zuhayrah Kamal, head of the Women's League in the occupied territories.

The members of the delegation handed John Kelly a memorandum in which, on behalf of all Palestinians residing in the occupied territory, they totally and unconditionally reject the Israeli proposal for elections under the shadow of the occupation. The memorandum includes the Palestinian people's demand for the right of self-determination and for the evacuation of Israeli forces from all the occupied territories in return for a guaranteed peace and the convocation of an international conference on peace in the Middle East. The memorandum expresses the desire that Israel recognize the state of Palestine in return for Palestinian recognition of Israel. The memorandum [word indistinct] also said that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It regretted that John Kelly has not expressed a desire to meet with its chairman during his tour of the Middle East.

It is known that, prior to his meeting with the Palestinians, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State met with Israeli leaders, including Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. News agencies say that he tried to persuade John Kelly to terminate all contacts between Washington and the PLO, to ignore the existence of this organization, and to concentrate on promoting the Shamir plan.

It would seem from the outset that John Kelly proposed nothing new to him during his current tour. Indeed, who is not aware that the current U.S. Administration is as far away as it can be from a realistic stance on resolving the Middle East problem, and is still gambling on the annexation of the occupied territories. Washington also [words indistinct] Israel's intransigence in refusing to recognize [words indistinct] and the position of the PLO

in a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem, and in refusing to enter a direct dialogue with the organization. At the same time, as is indicated by the Palestinian-U.S. dialogue, the U.S. State Department is aware that a resolution of the Middle East problem is impossible without the participation of the Palestinians, and that their sole and legitimate recognized representative is the PLO.

Nonetheless, I think that John Kelly's meeting with representatives of the Palestinians in the occupied territory—representatives who have absolutely no links with the PLO—was useful. This is because the meeting once again showed a clear limit between the stances of the two sides, Israeli and Palestinian, and showed that while on the one hand the tendency is to gamble on the use of force, annexation and the revision of internationally recognized borders, on the other the focus is on searching for political means of resolving the conflict in a way which respects the interests of all sides, with the aim of [word indistinct] security situation for all the countries and peoples of the Middle East region. Which of the two means should be given preference? It is this question which the U.S. Administration should answer.

Andreyev on Problems Facing Hashemi-Rafsanjani
NC0308204989 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1100 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Interview with commentator Yuriy Andreyev by station announcer]

[Excerpts] As you heard on the news, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani won the fifth presidential elections in Iran with 94.5 percent of Iranian votes. We asked Yuriy Andreyev to discuss what major problems the new president must solve.

[Andreyev] Greetings, dear listeners. The new government's major task will apparently be the solution of the vital economic and social problems faced by Iran. [Passage omitted]. The price control law which was approved in early April this year did not yield the results expected, even though a 7,000-strong staff which would supervise its implementation was to be mobilized. Official figures put unemployment at 15 percent.

[Announcer] Have you not painted an extremely dark picture?

[Andreyev] No. I only referred to the true problems in the economy. However, there are positive trends in the economy too, namely in the oil industry, which is Iran's biggest industry. Extensive activities have started in this field. The resumption of production activities in some oil refineries and mines surprised many experts. I am referring to the Abadan Refinery and the Kharq Oil Terminal in the Persian Gulf. Moreover, Iran's foreign debts in the current year fell to something more than \$4.5 billion in comparison with the \$20 billion in 1980,

and all long-term and medium-term loans were repaid. Finally, recently a resumption of economic activities can be noted, and this is expected to improve the country's economic situation.

[Announcer] Can Tehran's activities in foreign policy help its economy?

[Andreyev] Yes. For example, Iran's relations with its neighbors and, first and foremost, with the Soviet Union can play a significant role in solving economic problems. It is sufficient to refer to the multidimensional economic cooperation agreement which was signed in Moscow recently which foresees the persistent efforts by Iran and the Soviet Union in 15 national economic fields. The expansion of Soviet-Iranian relations in the economic and agricultural fields can play a significant role in ensuring an improvement in Iran's economic situation and will create new employment and provide Iran's markets with the necessary technical equipment and low-priced Soviet products. Moreover, the Soviet Union is prepared to help Iran in its post-war reconstruction and economic reconstruction. The new president of Iran appears to be fully aware of this reality. And it is not at all accidental that his visit to Moscow and the outcome of his talks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev have elevated Soviet-Iranian relations to a new and higher level.

[Announcer] We thank you very much for your remarks.

Iranian Media Surveyed on Shevardnadze Visit
LD0208125989 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT
2 Aug 89

[Text] Tehran August 2 TASS—"Eduard Shevardnadze offers help in peace negotiations", "Moscow is ready to help in the Iran-Iraq peace process" and "Tehran and Moscow confirm the need for the soonest implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 598" are the headlines in Iranian newspapers covering Tuesday's meetings of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze with Iranian officials.

The Iranian media give prominence to 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani's words that the development of Soviet-Iranian relations will have a positive impact on the whole region.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI noted that the Soviet foreign minister conveyed to Hashemi-Rafsanjani a message from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev congratulating him on election to the post of Iranian president.

An editorial of TEHRAN TIMES underlined that Shevardnadze is the first foreign minister Hashemi-Rafsanjani met after his election. The editorial also notes that, in the opinion of Iran, the northern neighbour will play a considerable role in the Iran-Iraq negotiations and

points out that the Soviet Union will do all it can to implement the U.N. Security Council resolution 598 within the framework of settlement of international conflicts.

Iran Endorses Projects, Soviet Assistance

LD0508135489 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Tehran August 5 TASS—The Council of Ministers of the Islamic Republic of Iran has endorsed the list of power-generating, industrial and transport facilities to be erected in Iran with Soviet assistance.

The newspaper TEHRAN TIMES points out today that cooperation between the two countries is maintained under the agreements signed during Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani's visit to Moscow.

Among the projects of Soviet-Iranian cooperation endorsed by the Iranian Council of Ministers are the construction of hydro and thermal electric power stations, railways, dams, and extending the production capacities of the Isfahan integrated iron-and-steel works.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Greet Mubarak

PM0308093189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] On the occasion of Egypt's national holiday—the 37th anniversary of the July revolution—the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent Egyptian President H. Mubarak and the friendly Egyptian people the most sincere wishes. The telegram stresses that "joint efforts to develop political dialogue and strengthen Soviet-Egyptian relations will bring results promoting the deepening of mutual understanding and cooperation between our countries."

In an answering telegram H. Mubarak expresses thanks for the warm congratulations in connection with the holiday and states Egypt's desire "to support and develop relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation in the interests of our countries, for the benefit of the cause of security and peace on earth."

Indian Air Force Chief of Staff Ends Visit

PM0408092589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 29 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Left for Home"]

[Text] Chief Air Marshal S.K. Mehra, chief of staff of the Indian Air Force, has concluded his official visit to the Soviet Union.

The guest from India and those accompanying him were received by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR

minister of defense, and Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, and they had talks at the main staffs of the Air Force and the Air Defense Forces and at Leningrad Military District Headquarters.

Air Chief Marshal S.K. Mehra laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum. A wreath was also laid at the grave of the unknown warrior by the Kremlin wall.

On 26 July Air Chief Marshal S.K. Mehra and those accompanying him left for home.

They were seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, and by other generals and officers.

The send-off party included P.K. Budhwar, plenipotentiary minister at the Indian Embassy in the USSR.

Tunis Envoy Receives PLO's 'Arafat

LD0408214489 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] Tunis August 4 TASS—Soviet ambassador to Tunisia Vladimir Sobchenko met today with PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat.

On behalf of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, the ambassador congratulated 'Arafat with his 60th birthday and wished him health and success in the struggle for the fulfilment of the Palestinian people's national inspirations. The ambassador also passed over a present to 'Arafat.

'Arafat expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet leadership for its support of the just struggle of the Palestinian people. 'Arafat said that the Palestinians take pride in their friendship with the Soviet people. These congratulations are a symbol of sincere liking and friendly relations between the USSR and the PLO, 'Arafat said.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Peace Prospects for Ethiopia's Eritrea Viewed

EA0408200089 Moscow International Service
in Amharic 1530 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] German Ustinov, the IZVESTIYA reporter in Addis Ababa, recently published an article in Moscow on the current situation in Ethiopia. We present a summary of the article.

Discussions are proceeding in all party and workers' organizations on the recent peace proposals of the National Shengo. The province of Eritrea, inhabited by more than 3,500,000 people, has not known peace for the last 30 years. At one time, the region was the most prosperous of Ethiopia's regions in industry, agriculture,

animal husbandry, and other fields. Its thickly wooded forests were filled with many rare animals. Many years of war, repeated drought, and similar phenomena have made the region semi-arid.

Today, peace and unity are very important to Ethiopia, more than ever before, says German Ustinov. That is why the Ethiopian people have supported the Shengo's peace proposals. The Shengo has called on all opposing forces to hold roundtable discussions without any preconditions and to solve their problems politically. The USSR, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Iran, India, Vietnam, many African countries, and various international organizations have supported the proposals. German Ustinov explains that one thing he continually observed during his 3 years in Ethiopia was a series of attacks and counter-attacks by government forces and armed opposition groups.

I do not think that there is anyone today who believes that conflicts can be solved militarily, the reporter says. He adds that he does not believe that even the Eritrea People's Liberation Force (EPLF) and its collaborators think that it is possible to achieve a military victory. It benefits no one to fight an endless war and cause the loss of thousands of lives.

The lessons learned from the new political perspective and diplomatic efforts will result in mutual trust and will bear fruit. In this respect, one need not go far to find an example. Ethiopia and Somalia were able to settle an 11-year conflict within a few months through diplomatic discussions. The Shengo's peace call is to all organizations, groups, movements, and all others involved in the conflict.

What kind of response have the two main organizations, the EPLF and the Tigray People's Liberation Force, given to the peace call, asks the journalist. After a period of indecision, the two fronts have agreed to hold official talks without preconditions in the presence of a third party. Both sides are still suspicious and geared for confrontation. However, preparations for peace talks are in themselves a step that will help scatter the clouds of enmity and are, therefore, to be welcomed, concludes the reporter.

A few days after this article was published, the EPLF stated that it had formed a commission to hold talks with representatives of the Ethiopian Government. Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam, for his own part, held talks with former Presidents Jimmy Carter of the United States and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. President Mengistu said that his government would do all that is expected of it to stop the conflict.

Ethiopian Regime, Rebels Edge Toward Talks
PM0508165589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent G. Ustinov report: "Following 'Open Letter'"]

[Text] Addis Ababa—[Passage omitted] The war in Eritrea has been going on for almost 30 years. [Passage omitted]

Peace and unity are needed by this area and the entire country for all sorts of reasons, so to speak. Can you really ignore the fact that Eritrea is of exceptionally great strategic significance for Ethiopia? This can be seen from the province's name itself—it comes from the ancient Roman name for the Red Sea: "Mare eritrium." Indeed, the country's two main outlets to the Red Sea are here in the north. The port of Mits'iwa is not only the republic's largest gateway for trade, but is also where the Ethiopian naval forces are stationed. An oil refinery constructed in 1967 with Soviet aid is located in the port city of Aseb, which has special administrative status. If the refinery were to cease work, then every vehicle in the country would stop running.

This is why Ethiopia has greeted with such approval and hope the peace proposals of the republic's parliament making an offer to all opposition forces to sit down at the negotiating table without preconditions in order to settle this protracted regional conflict via purely political means. This is why positive responses to the initiative of Ethiopia's supreme organ of state power are coming in not only from Africa, but also from many other world continents. It is supported by the USSR, Cuba, the CSSR, the GDR, Iran, India, Vietnam, and a number of international organizations... Hope is being expressed in Addis Ababa's diplomatic circles that this step will be followed by fresh actions of good will—and above all a ceasefire—both by the Ethiopian authorities, and by the opposition. [Passage omitted]

I have been working for over 2 years in Ethiopia and every spring I see the same picture: a major offensive by the separatist forces, a counteroffensive by the government forces, and then a long period of entrenched confrontation, mainly because it is impossible to conduct combat operations on account of the rain. I think that few people today believe that this conflict can be solved by military means. The Eritrean National Liberation Front and "like-minded" organizations cooperating with it are scarcely counting on absolute victory. So should they go on waging war? Lose thousands upon thousands of lives every year? Carry on ravaging the country?

The lessons of the new political thinking indicate that diplomatic means, mutual trust and impartiality are always more fruitful. Take the Horn of Africa. Last year the 11-year war between Ethiopia and Somali was wrapped up in a few months. The decision on this was made at the negotiating table in three short sessions. Both sides are carefully observing the accords reached between them....

During high-level meetings, the exchange of workers' delegations and mutual consultations Ethiopia's friends—the Soviet Union, Cuba, the GDR, and a number of other countries—advised the country's leadership in a comradely fashion to give preference to a peaceful

settlement of the Eritrean problem. As Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam noted recently, "no pressure was put on us. These were friendly recommendations, and we were convinced of their sincerity and expediency."

And the interests of peace took on the form of a parliamentary appeal addressed specifically to all organizations, groupings, movements and trends participating in the conflict. What is their reaction to the Shengo's manifesto?

In a statement by the Eritrean National [as published] Liberation Front published soon after the Ethiopian parliamentary session, the opposition organizations, unfortunately, effectively reduce the essence of the upcoming talks to the question of Eritrea's secession. "The Eritrean people have been struggling against the unity of Ethiopia and Eritrea for 28 years," the document says. But at the end of the statement the uncompromising tone is softened by words to the effect that the front is ready to hold official talks if preconditions are abandoned and with the participation of a third party (the desirability of international observers is also mentioned in the Shengo's [parliament's] proposals. For instance, the names of the well-known African politician Julius Nyerere and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak are mentioned in this connection).

The second most important opposition organization, the Tigray—yet another northern Ethiopian province—National [as published] Liberation Front, has also sent an "open letter" to the Ethiopian State Council. Its leaders do not pose the question of Tigray's secession from the country. They demand that "genuine democracy" be established in Ethiopia and that a new government be set up through elections "with the participation of representatives of all parties," that is, in plain terms, that the present regime be eliminated.

"In spite of fundamental differences in the approach to solving the country's internal problems," the "open letter" says, "the Tigray National Liberation Front expresses its willingness to hold peace talks with the central government. This is dictated by the front's desire to use any opportunity that offers itself in order to stop the bloodshed in the country." The Tigray National Liberation Front proposes beginning talks in a month's time and agrees that they must be official and open.

This is how the opposing sides approach future dialogue. Although they are now characterized by chronic suspicion and a confrontational approach, the very acceptance that combat operations must give way to peaceful discussion and that the clouds of hostility must be dispersed is precious. And it would be useful and opportune if international circles sympathizing with the Ethiopian armed opposition were to support these first conciliatory steps.

Radio on 'Alarming' Situation in Somalia
*AB0508200589 Moscow International Service
in Amharic 1530 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] News agencies in Nairobi have reported an influx of many hundreds of Somali refugees into Kenya. In a border town, Dobi, Somali soldiers opened fire on civilians. We have previously reported that Somalia had agreed to exchange POW's and avoid confrontation with Ethiopia. President Barre has offered an amnesty to political prisoners and expressed the Somali Government's readiness for negotiations to bring peace to northern Somalia. Hopes for a political solution to end Somalia's bloodshed were also reported.

However, the news we are now receiving from Somalia is alarming and sad. The situation in Somalia is deteriorating daily. On 9 July 1989, the Catholic Church representative, Bishop Salvatore Colombo, was murdered. This was a shameful crime. Although we do not at the moment know who killed the bishop, we are sure that the killers' identity will be established soon. In the turmoil which followed this murder, 84 [as heard] people, according to the government, and 1,500 people, according to the opposition forces, were killed. Sporadic shooting is being heard in Mogadishu. Two generals have been arrested: one is the former defense minister, Aden Abdullahi Nur. He was the defense minister until last January. He is a member of the Ogadeni tribe and very popular with the troops.

For all these reasons, guerrilla warfare has intensified in all parts of the country. The fighting near the Kenyan border has greatly intensified. According to AFP, which quoted Europeans evacuating Somalia, the Somali Government controls only the city of Mogadishu. It would be inadvisable to accept these reports in toto, but they cannot be discounted. President Barre's fellow tribesmen, armed with modern weapons, are massacring other tribesmen. Fearful of being massacred, Somalis are fleeing the country in large numbers. This is a very alarming situation.

Gorbachev Congratulates Mozambique's Chissano
*LD0708085289 Moscow TASS in English 0752 GMT
7 Aug 89*

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a congratulatory message to Joaquim Alberto Chissano, chairman of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, on the occasion of his being reelected the chairman of the party and the president of Mozambique.

"The recently-concluded fifth congress of the Frelimo party has shown the Mozambican people's determination to proceed along the road of independence and progress," Gorbachev emphasised.

Zambian National Assembly Delegation on Visit
LD0508194689 Moscow in English to Africa
1700 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] A report in Moscow says a delegation of Zambia's National Assembly has paid an official visit to this country at the Soviet parliament's invitation. In Moscow the Zambian members of Parliament were received by senior vice-president Anatoliy Lukyanov and held talks with Soviet Members of Parliament. During the exchange of views the Zambian officials spoke highly of Soviet efforts to improve relations between all states and expressed gratitude for Soviet aid to Zambia. The Soviet side reaffirmed solidarity with the anti-apartheid movement and with the struggle of the frontline states to turn southern Africa into a region of peace and stability. Apart from Moscow the delegation visited Leningrad.

East Europe

Poland's Mieczyslaw Rakowski Profiled
PM0408132989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Anatoliy Druzenko article: "Mieczyslaw Rakowski"]

[Text] As IZVESTIYA has already reported Mieczyslaw Rakowski was elected first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

...This man undoubtedly holds a prominent place among modern Poland's politicians. No, his name does not quite meet with universal recognition and reverence. Poles assess the activities of this politician in different ways, but his active—and the word active should be emphasized—participation in the country's sociopolitical life over the past 25 years, the breadth of erudition he has shown, and his party-minded attitude, persistence, and energy are recognized by most people.

M. Rakowski's biography reveals a typical feature of a man of action: He is always in the vanguard of events that, as is now being said, are crucial for Poland (perhaps this is influenced by the fact that he comes from a peasant family that lived in Bydgoszcz Voivodship, and at the start of his career went through the schooling of the Polish People's Army, which he entered as a volunteer in 1945).

M. Rakowski showed himself to be a politician of action when he was chief editor of Poland's highly popular weekly POLITYKA. He was one of the creators of this publication and worked on it for more than 20 years, not just as its leader, but as a journalist whose articles always produced a wide response in society. It is worth noting that the main subject of these articles was their conviction that it is only on the path of reform, glasnost, and dialogue with the people that it is possible to reveal the potential inherent in socialism.

He showed himself to be a politician of action in the early eighties when the country was shaken to its foundations by the sociopolitical and economic crisis. It was M. Rakowski, as deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers during those dramatic months, who conducted talks with the "Solidarity" leaders on behalf of the government (it was not his fault that the dialogue was called off and martial law imposed in order to prevent a national catastrophe in the country).

A year ago, again in a highly complex situation—the economic crisis in the country had, it could be said, become extremely intense—M. Rakowski became the head of the Polish Government. Future historians will assess his activity in this post, but the fact that here too he showed himself to be an advocate of decisive reforms is undoubted.

His prestige within the PZPR is enormous. He joined the party—it was then the Polish Workers Party—in 1946 at the age of 20. He has amassed colossal experience—he has been in leading party organs for 25 years: He was a candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee from 1964, he has been a Central Committee member since 1975, he was elected a Politburo member in December 1987, and he became a secretary of the PZPR Central Committee in June 1988.

Again the typical feature of his political biography was reaffirmed: He is becoming first secretary of the Central Committee at a crucial time for the party, when the question of its role and place in the process of socialist renewal and the winning back of the working masses' confidence is on the agenda along with the question of restructuring the party. The path of reform and renewal, I repeat, has always been the only true path for Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and we can hope that he will be able to confidently embark on this path, taking over the baton of PZPR leadership from Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Polish Ambassador Defends Elections
18070720 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 30, 29 Jul-4 Aug 89 p 6

[Interview with Ambassador of the People's Republic of Poland in the USSR Wlodzimierz Natorf by A. Golub: "The Risk Was Justified"; date not given]

[Text] On 19 July, elections of the president of the country were held in Warsaw at a joint meeting of the chambers of the National Assembly, the Sejm and the Senate. As a result of the roll call vote, W. Jaruzelski received 270 votes, or one vote more than was needed for his election. There were 233 votes against and 34 abstentions.

At the request of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, Ambassador of the People's Republic of Poland in the USSR Wlodzimierz Natorf commented on the results of elections.

[Natorf] The course of the elections and their outcome have confirmed the correctness of the evaluation of the situation in our country made by the future president. He precisely determined the balance of forces, and knew the mood of both the coalition and the opposition. In the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee, they understood that the official recognition of the opposition, legalization of Solidarity, and direct elections entail certain risks. However, they accepted the risk because delaying profound reforms in the political system further would have made this operation still more complex in the future. Of course, there were those among the PZPR members who had doubts. Apparently meaning such communists, W. Jaruzelski recalled the old proverb: "If you are afraid of wolves do not go into the woods."

[Golub] It was exactly the Polish communists who initiated the holding of free elections to the parliament of the country, and it was exactly the initiators of free elections whose names were primarily crossed out by the voters. Could this be explained by the fact that the Poles have lost faith in socialism?

[Natorf] They crossed out the names not because they have become enemies of socialism as such, but because they are not satisfied with the socialism which has brought about price increases and a profound economic and political crisis.

[Golub] W. Jaruzelski was nominated candidate for the presidency by a decision of the PZPR Central Committee. Some time later, he withdrew his candidacy, proposing in his stead member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo Minister of Internal Affairs Cz. Kiszczak. What was the reason for the hesitation of Jaruzelski?

[Natorf] I will voice my personal opinion. Jaruzelski understood that he, as the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland, shared responsibility for the critical state of affairs in the country, and was not sure that he would be given support both within the framework of the coalition and by the opposition. Thus, in the event of his failure to get elected, he would have jeopardized not only his authority but also the authority of the party. These apprehensions were not in vain: The passage of the candidacy of Jaruzelski was not easy.

[Golub] What is the attitude of the newly elected president toward the fact that the issue of his election was resolved by a mere one-vote majority?

[Natorf] The newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU asked General Jaruzelski the same question. "I am difficult to startle by anything, to say nothing of arithmetic," answered the president.

In commenting on this answer, I would like to say that in our supreme organ of state authority, where a model of socialist parliamentary democracy is being tested, it is rather the laws of higher mathematics of people's power

that are at work. This one vote confirms the viability of the policy of consolidation which W. Jaruzelski has been carrying out for 9 years now with the persistence and consistency, and which should bring about the renewal of the arrangement of life in Poland.

[Golub] If, as you say, the policy of General Jaruzelski is correct, what is the explanation for a majority of the Poles sympathizing with Solidarity?

[Natorf] In the party, the opinion existed that it is enough to proclaim socialism, and the sesame would open right away. When abundance did not come all by itself the people began to be resentful, stopped work, and went on strikes. The authorities were forced to seek the help of the West. The West financed not only the state but also Solidarity, the difference being that the state got the dollars through loans while Solidarity got them as a gift.

At present, Polish debts come to almost \$40 billion. Even now the state is calling for tightening our belts. In turn, Solidarity gains "authority" by demanding that prices be reduced, and that an abundance of foodstuffs and goods be available. Is it not clear who they are going to vote for during elections?

Yugoslav Party Central Committee Presidium Meets
PM0408131589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Jul 89 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "To Pursue the Course of Reforms"]

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jul—Questions of political events in Yugoslavia and the ensuing tasks of the League of Communists, and preparations for the 14th (Extraordinary) League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress were, according to TANJUG reports, the topic of discussion at a sitting of the LCY Central Committee Presidium held in Belgrade Tuesday.

The main report by M. Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, noted that the economic and political situation in the country continues to deteriorate. Unity has not been achieved on the question of implementing a social reform. There are growing conflicts within leadership links, and this aggravates the overall situation. Therefore, as it was pointed out, the League of Communists must continue to struggle for the implementation of the social and economic reforms and the further democratization of society. It is necessary to create within the framework of this struggle the political climate necessary for preparation for the congress, and to elaborate a platform for profound transformations in the economy, the political system, and the work of the League of Communists itself.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium also examined the question of the SFRY's preparations for the Ninth Conference of heads of state and government from nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

Yugoslav Political, Economic Problems Viewed
18070707 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 89
Second Edition p 6

[Article by staff correspondent Ye. Fadeyev in Belgrade:
"What Does the Coming Day Have in Store?"]

[Text] The following letter came to PRAVDA's Belgrade bureau:

"Changes have recently taken place in all echelons of power in Yugoslavia. Yet, for example, we know very little about what the program of the new prime minister is like, and how the new leaders plan to get the country out of its difficult situation. Why not cite the opinions on this subject of two or three academic economists of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]? It is really a paradox: Here at home, we write, speak, and show everything on television with such frankness, but at times we fear to speak truthfully about other socialist countries." This letter was sent from Arkhangelsk by Engineer K. Larin.

Well, I am prepared to respond.

In May 1989 the traditional changes took place in the Yugoslav leadership, in all its subdivisions. In accordance with the established principles of rotation, the president of the SFRY Presidency and new members of the state's collective leadership were elected for the regular 1-year term.

The president of the Skupstina (parliament) of the SFRY was also elected. Also elected were the president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], whose task it will be to conduct the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY, and the chairman of the federal conference of the country's most massive sociopolitical organization—the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY]. The first woman ever to occupy this post in the history of SAWPY will be 47-year-old Jelena Milojevic.

I will need to say "first ever" with great frequency in describing the changes here. For the first time ever, the members of the SFRY Presidency (it is composed of eight members, one representative from each of the six republics and two autonomous provinces) are being elected to their posts from among several candidates. For example, in Serbia 116 people were introduced into the list, with 73 in Slovenia and 46 in Montenegro. Moreover, a number of limitations were introduced in several republics before the beginning of the pre-electoral campaign, which also became news in and of itself. Thus, in Croatia it was decided that pensioners and League of Communist veterans with over 40 years service could not be nominated. In Macedonia candidates with less than 4 years remaining until retirement were not

included in the list. Incidentally, for various reasons, they could not even set up an election for the future member of the Presidency in Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina as well.

The main event of the political spring is probably that the SFRY Presidency is now headed by its youngest president ever in the history of this collective organ; the president is 39-year-old Doctor of Economic Sciences Janez Drnovsek of Slovenia.

The LCY leader had previously always been a member of the SFRY Presidency. Now, he is not included in the body of the Presidency. This was done in accordance with the decision made on the separation of party and state functions in the country's leadership.

If we bear in mind that in the new government of Ante Markovic formed in March, all the cabinet ministers, with the exception of two, the federal secretary for foreign affairs and the federal secretary for national defense, are new people, then it becomes clear: We are indeed speaking of major changes in the Yugoslav leadership. I remind the reader that the previous SFRY Government, unable to deal with the difficulties, resigned 1 and 1/2 years before its term expired, the first such case in the country's postwar history.

New people came, but the old concerns remain; such is the theme of the publications of the local mass information media. I would call "typical" the cartoon which appeared in the first column of the newspaper BORBA. Ante Markovic is heading toward the building of the Federal Executive Council; in his hands are a vacuum cleaner and an assortment of cleaning brushes and sponges.... The need is for emancipation as soon as possible from the old weight and accumulated dust on the endlessly changing, yet unimplemented documents...

It is unanimous that the country's number one problem is galloping inflation.

To say that "you can't keep up with prices in Yugoslavia" is to say nothing. As the newspaper VECERNE NOVOSTI reported, the daily inflation rate is now 0.79 percent. Daily!

Yes, the local stores are filled with goods. But, as the Yugoslavs themselves joke, they have everything...except money. Despite the abundance of goods, there are fewer and fewer purchases. Thus, according to official data, the sale of goods in Belgrade has dropped 20 percent.

And now, the paradox mentioned earlier. I recently read what I considered to be an interesting observation: No sooner had we been given the opportunity to objectively familiarize ourselves with the experience of the SFRY economy without hiding the difficulties (an economic experience which was previously a sin for our brother journalist to even mention), than Yugoslavia ran into a

serious crisis encompassing all society. And the voices can already be heard: Here's your excessive tilt toward a market economy, they already warn, here's your experiment in self-management.

But it is this very experiment which we now need very much in order for us and our friends to draw lessons from it.

The main conclusion drawn by many Yugoslav economists is that while the market is possible without self-management, there will never be effective self-management without the market. And another. In this country, they managed to begin political reforms in time, as they were needed, including the League of Communists as well.

From the very beginning, the new government started to adopt a number of measures. I will state right away that Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council (age 64, headed Zagreb's major "Rade Koncar" association for 25 years, headed the Government of Croatia, now in the body of the LCY Central Committee) is a confirmed supporter of the economic mechanism founded upon market laws. The newly elected president of the SFRY Presidency shares this viewpoint.

And now a few excerpts from Ante Markovic's program speech in the SFRY Skupstina.

"...Only under conditions of the establishment of real market values can we distinguish between economic efficiency and inefficiency, profitability and unprofitability, labor and absence of labor, and on this basis, initiate the processes of the economy's modernization, and that of the national economy in general.

"...From the static point of view, there seems to be no way out of our situation, but from the dynamic point of view, alternatives exist. They are laid precisely in the changes stipulated by the reforms of socialism, which holds enormous power, enormous potential..." POLITIKA writes that "yes, the SFRY is now in a difficult situation, but there are paths to the way out of the situation. First of all, a full-scale renewal of cadres is needed from top to bottom. Second, no one has rescinded economic reform. Third, it is impossible to implement changes in the economy without alterations in the League of Communists, and vice versa."

VEČERNE NOVOSTI notes that "as before, economic reform remains the sole path to the country's extrication from the crisis."

There are arguments about this among Yugoslav scientists as well. The speech of Zagreb University Professor Dragomir Vojnic at Belgrade University's symposium on "Paths Toward Extrication From the Economic Crisis" comes to mind. In particular, he said:

"I have recently been present at more than one discussion on how to get out of the crisis. There was talk about the paths of restructuring and reforms. I must say that interest in Yugoslavia was manifested everywhere. Of course, all that is done in socialist countries interests us as well. What is the common denominator to which we may reduce all the processes now taking place in the socialist countries? The main enemy of socialism and its renaissance were and remain dogmatism in the theoretical and ideological plan. The 'crisis' of socialism is expressed in the low level of economic efficiency, and, on the other side of the coin, in the low level of political democracy."

Thus, the Yugoslav leadership is faced with extraordinarily complicated tasks.

"More than a quarter has passed since you headed the Yugoslav Government. What have you managed to do in this time?" I ask Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic.

"First and foremost, we modernized a number of draft laws presented for the consideration of the coming SFRY Skupstina. These were amendments to the Law on Foreign Trade, and on foreign currency operations. Other measures on the liberalization of prices, in the area of credit and monetary policy are being prepared. We have balanced the budget and removed all obstacles from the private sector. On the other hand, 3-4 months is too short a period in which to get a great deal of things done. I am working on a new program with my 'team.' I would be happy if I had an alternative. And why not? Economic reform is always a composite; in it everything is in the development, everything is interconnected."

Hungarian Party Plenum Reported

PM0308103989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov report: "MSZMP: Congress Will Be a Workers One"]

[Text] Budapest, 1 Aug—The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee plenum which has just been held examined the question of preparation for the MSZMP Congress which will be held in the fall. It is planned to discuss the political situation in the country and the party's tasks, to adopt an MSZMP program statement and charter, and to elect the party's leading organs.

The features of the holding of the Hungarian Communists' supreme forum emerge from the press reports and the statements of some leading party workers. For instance, to all appearances the congress will not have an ordinal number. Perhaps this is connected with the fact that many Communists suggest giving the party a new name. The term "workers' congress" is being used frequently right now.

The question of the deputy mandates of members of the Central Committee and Central Control Committee is being examined. They will not receive these mandates automatically: They must be elected to the congress as delegates.

There will be no foreign delegations at the "workers' congress." The possibility of inviting representatives of all the country's public movements and other parties is being discussed.

As there are many currents in the MSZMP (reform circles, the platform of Marxist unity, the platform of cohesion, the Budapest theoretical workshop, and a number of others) it is expected that the debates will be keen. At the same time the majority of Communists are in favor of strengthening unity and coordinating viewpoints.

There is a proposal to change the structure of the leading organs at the congress. For instance, instead of the Central Committee, it is proposed that a larger elected committee be formed from among the delegates.

Bulgarian Delegation Visits USSR 24-28 Jul

PM0408120789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Experience"]

[Text] A Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] delegation headed by P. Stoyanov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chief of the BCP Central Committee Administrative Department, was visiting Moscow 24 through 28 July. It was familiarized with the experience of party documentation and archive work and discussed questions of cooperation in this sphere. Meetings and conversations took place at the CPSU Central Committee General and International Departments, the Moscow CPSU City Party Committee, the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute, and the USSR Council of Ministers Main Archive Administration. The delegation was received by B.K. Pugo, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, and V.I. Boldin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee General Department.

West Europe

Lukyanov Receives Cypriot Envoy's Credentials

PM0308094089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Presenting Credentials"]

[Text] On 28 July Kh. Khristoforou, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Cyprus, presented his credentials in the Kremlin to A.I. Lukyanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

Kh. Khristoforou stated that Cyprus, as a member state of the CSCE and the Nonaligned Movement, supports the development of the Helsinki process, the fulfillment of the provisions of the Final Document of the Vienna meeting, the establishment of the principles of the UN Charter, and the safeguarding of detente, peaceful coexistence, security, and mutual understanding between East and West. All these are necessary preconditions for building a common European home.

The ambassador expressed his satisfaction at the stable development of friendly Soviet-Cypriot relations in various spheres. He expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for solidarity and substantial support in the Cypriots' struggle for a just and practicable solution to the Cyprus problem and stressed the great significance of the USSR's proposals on the principles of a Cyprus settlement and the path to its achievement and other Soviet initiatives on Cyprus.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A.I. Lukyanov noted the constructive nature of Soviet-Cypriot political dialogue, which is in the spirit of traditional friendship between our countries.

The active foreign policy of Cyprus and its desire to make a contribution to strengthening positive trends in international affairs, the common European process, and the Movement for Nonalignment are greatly valued in the Soviet Union. The USSR's principled position in support of the UN secretary general's mission on Cyprus, which is being carried out on the basis of the Security Council's mandate, and in favor of internal Cypriot dialogue with the objective of achieving a lasting and just settlement of the Cyprus problem, was stressed.

After the presentation of credentials and an exchange of speeches between A.I. Lukyanov and Kh. Khristoforou, a friendly conversation took place.

Turkish Communists Visit USSR

PM0308100589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Turkish Communists Visit"]

[Text] A delegation from the United Turkish Communist Party headed by M. Karaca, the party's deputy chairman, and the party's deputy secretary, O. Sakalsyz [name as transliterated] was in Moscow 25 through 31 July at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Meetings and talks took place in the CPSU Central Committee International Department and the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The delegation also had a talk at the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation's commission for international cooperation on humanitarian issues and human rights.

Gorbachev Greets Soviet-Finnish Festival

LD0508174689 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 5 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev sent a greeting to the Seventh Friendship Festival of Soviet and Finnish Young People.

The Soviet leader expressed confidence that the young people will constantly renovate and enrich Soviet-Finnish cooperation which is based on the 1948 Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. "The former generations have created an original and solid structure of our interaction. It has been tested by time and the main thing in it is trust. You, the younger generation, should preserve our joint heritage and enrich it with new ideas and deeds."

Gorbachev pointed out that the Soviet-Finnish youth cooperation is a natural and necessary element of the European process.

The Soviet leader wished success to the festival. He expressed hope that the festival will serve to promote contacts, friendship and good-neighbourly relations between our peoples.

Latin America & Caribbean

Commentary on Central American Summit

PY0508022289 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Spanish 0330 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Commentary by Valentin Mashkin]

[Text] On 5 August in the Honduran city of Tela a Central American summit will take place. Our analyst Valentin Mashkin comments on this summit today.

The central problem of this event, as expected, will be the demobilization of the contras. It is also expected, however, that solving this problem will not be easy, despite the fact that the existence of this counterrevolutionary force is the fundamental cause of the protracted crisis in Central America. To find this solution will be difficult because of the efforts that will also be made by the traitors at this Tela summit.

Well, if this matter is so important, what hidden difficulties lie in the way of the attempts to resolve it? These hidden difficulties do exist, and we are going to discuss them now. One of them is the demand by El Salvador to link the demobilization of the contras to the dismantling of the Salvadoran guerrilla forces on the basis of a principle of symmetry. The Salvadoran demand amounts to an ultimatum: If the Salvadoran guerrilla force is not dismantled, the demobilization of the contras cannot be talked about. It is clear that the Salvadoran civil war is the second center of the crisis in the area. It is indispensable to end this civil war, and the Salvadoran rebels hope to do so. For some time, the

rebels have been proposing a dialogue with the Salvadoran authorities in order to end the armed conflict through and ad hoc agreement.

The Salvadoran authorities are avoiding a dialogue. They do not want to make any commitment; they do not want to make any concession to the rebels. Therefore, the dismantling of the guerrilla force must not even be proposed at this time. The demand of the Salvadoran authorities to tie the dismantling of the Salvadoran guerrilla force to the demobilization of the contras is consequently out of the question. This idea leads down a dead-end street. The problem is so simple that it cannot be made any simpler. El Salvador understands this. I am sure of this. Why then do the Salvadoran authorities want to remain at this crossroad? I do not believe there is any reason for them to want to remain there. The status quo does not help the Salvadoran rulers, but rather those who exert political and economic tutelage over them. Washington does not say that it does not want the demobilization of the contras, but, in fact, Washington wants to maintain the contra forces as an instrument of blackmail against Nicaragua. These are the hidden stumbling blocks, as we said before, that trip up the attempts to normalize the Central American situation.

The ultimate objective of the United States in the land of Sandino continues unchanged: to liquidate the Sandinist revolution. The objective is no doubt unjust, because it is elementary that each country has the right to live as its sovereign will dictates.

Ortega Interviewed on Nicaraguan Revolution

LD0608183989 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1400 GMT 6 Aug 89

[From the "International Panorama" program; interview with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega by correspondent Yu Baranov; time, place not specified—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent Yu Baranov] Nicaragua can be called the largest state in Central America, in terms of territory, but not in terms of population. [passage omitted]

The oppositionists not only remained deaf to the call to unite efforts to save the country from economic crisis, they failed to see this sea of people, whose faith in the ideals of the revolution has not been shaken by the deprivations and ordeals of recent years. Not to see this means failing to understand that during all these years the main thing for them was the defense of the revolution, their revolution, and they have succeeded in this main thing. How, and on account of what?

[Ortega, in Spanish fading into Russian translation] Primarily on account of a high degree of awareness and moral fiber on the part of our people. Precisely thanks to this it has proved possible to mobilize more than 1 million Nicaraguans. Weapons in hand, they have come to the defense of the revolution. Without this, in the face of such cruel aggression, there would have been nothing

else but to perish. Isolated by the aggressive policy of the United States, decisive importance was acquired by international solidarity. The movement of solidarity with Nicaragua expanded all these years in Latin America, and in the United States itself, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and in the countries of the socialist community. But still, I would note in particular the solidarity of the Soviet people. It has been from them that the main support has stemmed, both in the socioeconomic and in the military fields, in order that the Nicaraguans might be able to defend their revolutionary process.

[Baranov] The forthcoming elections are also a defense of the revolution, but by political means. How do you assess the prospects?

[Ortega] Elections are an essential part of our revolutionary process, but in the current situation, when the United States hasn't renounced the use of force against Nicaragua, the elections are being turned into a further means for the defense of the revolution. We hope, of course, that common sense and a mature approach to the problems of Latin America will prevail, for the problems of Nicaragua are the problems of the whole of Latin America. The United States future relations with Latin America depend on the position which they take with regard to Nicaragua.

USSR Delegation Attends Honduran Congress

Honduran President Receives Delegation

LD0408212789 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0538 GMT 4 Aug 89

["Honduras President Receives Delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet—TASS Headline]

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 4 August, (TASS)—Special correspondent Andrey Kurguzov reports:

On Thursday [3 August] Jose Azcona Hoyo, president of Honduras, received a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union, which is here on an official visit.

During the conversation which took place the head of state noted that the relaxation in international tension as a result of talks between the highest leaders of the USSR and the United States has reflected beneficially on the state of the general political situation in the world. The existence in the period of the "Cold War" of a division into East and West should not become an obstacle to the development of relations between states, he said. The policy of glasnost being conducted by the Soviet leadership is an important factor of international political life. As a result of the process of detente which took shape during the dialogue between the USSR and the United States, new possibilities arise for cooperation between industrially developed and developing countries, in the interests of progress and the improvement of peoples' lives, the president pointed out.

J. Azcona Hoyo stressed the need to achieve a political settlement of the Central American problem on the basis of the peace accords achieved by the presidents of the countries in the region and observation of the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of the peoples of Central America in order to avoid the fanning of the conflict.

In his turn the head of the Soviet parliamentary delegation confirmed the adherence of the Soviet Union to the principles of respect for sovereignty and independence which form the basis of the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy. A.A. Mokanu reported on the steps that the Soviet Union is undertaking to avert a thermonuclear catastrophe, and has stressed the need to unite the efforts of all peoples for the purpose of overcoming poverty, backwardness and preserving the environment in the interests of the further forward development of mankind.

On that same day the Soviet delegation visited the textile enterprise "Textiles Rio Lindo" [as received] in Tegucigalpa, and also had a conversation with Reginaldo Panting [Penalbay], secretary of state for economy and commerce. During the conversation with the Soviet parliamentarians the minister noted the importance of the agreement signed between the two countries on trade cooperation and expressed interest in the Honduran side in getting permanent business contacts going with the USSR.

Soviet Deputy Speaks at Congress

PA0308225789 Tegucigalpa Cadena Audio Video
in Spanish 1200 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Report by Guillermo Castellanos Enamorado on speech by Soviet Aleksandr Mokanu, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, at the Honduran National Congress in Tegucigalpa on 2 August—recorded; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The full Congress last night welcomed a visiting Soviet delegation. In his welcoming remarks, National Congress President Carlos Orbin Montoya stressed that our country is expanding its international relations. Here is an excerpt of a speech by the head of the Soviet delegation, Aleksandr Mokanu, in response to Mr Montoya's remarks:

[Begin Mokanu recording in Russian with passage-by-passage translation into Spanish] I cannot avoid the topic of the Central American conflict when discussing international problems. This conflict is certainly very important for you and, just as any other regional conflict, it concerns the entire international community. We believe that there will soon be positive changes in the region. However, it is not now possible to satisfy all sides of the conflict. Many unresolved issues in this region still hamper the normalization of the situation. [Words indistinct] the normalization of the situation and full compliance with the Central American presidents agreements.

However, it is also true that these problems can and must be solved based on mutually acceptable agreements, by taking into consideration the interests of all sides. We feel that much will depend on the high legislative branches and their deputies, whose social awareness, rich political experience, and ability to seek and reach reasonable compromises to solve many complex problems will help—and of this we are certain—to achieve major accomplishments and lead to praiseworthy contributions to the solution of regional problems.

As far as the situation in the USSR is concerned, we are prepared to continue actively to contribute to finding a solution to Central American problems. We also want to contribute to strengthening peace, good-neighborly relations, and equitable cooperation with regional countries. The Soviet Union calls on all the states to support the Guatemala and El Salvador agreements through practical steps, because these agreements reflect the will of the Central American peoples. We are receptive to interaction, and we say this with great satisfaction. If you so desire, we can reach an agreement on establishing a permanent political dialogue between our countries to strengthen our economic, commercial, and cultural ties. [end recording]

Mokanu said that the first Soviet Congress of the People's Deputies issued an appeal to the peoples of the world, which stated that we are open to the world and ready to cooperate with all those who regard life and human dignity as the highest values. This appeal reflects the principles of our new political thinking, which we are proposing to the world. This thinking is based on the precedence of universal human values, democratization, and the humanization of international relations. Also stressed was the need to solve emerging controversies and disputes solely through peaceful means, based on respect for the right of every nation to choose its own paths of development, because it is imperative to save our civilization from a nuclear or ecological catastrophe. This is our foreign policy strategy; this is the Soviet Union's open and frank policy and its concept of perestroika from an international perspective. This is the Soviet people's opinion. We are prepared to hold dialogues and to cooperate with all social and political forces concerned with preserving peace and guaranteeing progress and prosperity for all mankind.

Soviets Urge Agreement Compliance

PA0408032789 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2344 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 3 Aug (DPA)—A delegation of Soviet parliamentarians has asked the Central American nations to support the Guatemalan and Salvadoran agreements (that called for peace in the region), inasmuch as they reflect the will of the Central American people."

The request was made by Aleksandr Mokanu, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, a member of the delegation of the Supreme Soviet that is visiting Honduras for the first time.

The delegation members of the Supreme Soviet arrived in the country last night and were received by their Honduran counterparts during a special session of Congress. Today, they are scheduled to meet with Honduran President Jose Azcona Hoyo.

The Soviet delegation is comprised of seven persons—four deputies of the Supreme Soviet, two officials of the Foreign Ministry, and a journalist who is accompanying the mission.

This is the first time that a USSR parliamentary mission has visited Honduras, a close military ally of the United States in Central America. It has been received by the top executive and legislative authorities of the country.

The Soviet mission will remain in Honduras through Sunday. It is a reciprocal visit for a Honduran deputies' mission that visited Moscow in August 1988.

During his speech before Congress, Mokanu said that his country is willing to contribute toward "improving the situation in Central America, strengthening peace, improving good neighbor relations, and establishing equitable cooperation among the countries of the region."

Honduras and the USSR do not have diplomatic relations. Until 10 years ago, Honduran passports specified a ban on traveling to Russia and other communist countries. However, the two countries signed a bilateral trade treaty in 1988.

Lazaro Vazquez Cited on Cuba's Achievements

PM0408125989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 89
Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Moiseyev dispatch: "Camaguey Looks to the Future"]

[Excerpts] Havana—On 26 July fraternal Cuba celebrates a big holiday—National Uprising Day. Thirty-six years ago, a detachment of young insurgents led by Fidel Castro heroically stormed the Moncada Barracks, the stronghold of the Batista dictatorship in the city of Santiago de Cuba. This daring attack was the beginning of a new stage in the armed struggle of the Cuban revolutionaries for their country's freedom and independence. A struggle which ended in the people's victory in January 1959.

Under the people's power, a tradition has evolved on the Island of Freedom whereby the main celebrations marking National Uprising Day are held in the main city of the province which has achieved the most significant successes in the last year in labor, sociocultural development, and preparation for the country's defense. This

time the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) Central Committee Politburo has decided that Camaguey is the best province. [passage omitted]

There is a lot of construction work taking place in the province. More than 100 projects had been commissioned by 26 July. These include a square bearing the name of a national hero, Ignacio Agramonte. It is going to be the country's main square. Fidel Castro is going to address tens of thousands of people here. The Center of Biotechnology and Genetic Engineering, a branch of the agricultural institute, a medical institute, a ceramic tile factory, and many other enterprises and establishments are also being opened. All this has been done in the last year or two. The revolution has shaken up the province and given a powerful boost to its development.

"What did capitalism leave us?" Lazaro Vazquez, candidate member of the PCC Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the provincial party committee, repeated my question and immediately replied: "It left the province with a deformed agrarian economy totally dependent on a small group of landowners and American companies. Until the revolution, they owned virtually every sugarcane plantation and livestock farm; and dictated their will everywhere. These gentlemen were not interested in the people. Twenty percent of the adult population was without work. There was a high infant mortality rate, and discrimination, gambling, and prostitution were rife. Poverty and hunger often knocked at the door of rural workers.

"The triumph of the revolution," my interlocutor continued, "gave the province the opportunity to rapidly develop for the good of its inhabitants, while the people themselves were able to be masters of their own destiny. This, in my view, is the most important point. During the years of people's power, we have gained a machine plant, a cement factory, an electrodes plant, and a plant for the production of ferroconcrete pipes. The province has fish and meat combines. The industrial sector now accounts for 60 percent of all output, and one-fifth of this is exported.

"But despite this Camaguey is still an agricultural region. Our main concern is the cultivation of sugarcane, sugar production, and meat and dairy farming. The good natural conditions and fertile soil allow us to grow citrus fruits, bananas, rice, and vegetables. There have also been achievements in the social sphere. An extensive network of academic establishments has been created. We are now

turning out as many specialists as the whole of Cuba trained in 1958. The average life expectancy has risen to 74 years and the infant mortality rate has fallen by a factor of 6. The population of the province is growing and is now in the region of 730,000 people. More modern housing with better facilities is needed if people are to live and work well. We are doing a lot of work in this direction. We are building 2,000 apartments, the keys to many of which the people of Camaguey will be receiving during the period of celebration.

"We are pleased with our achievements," Lazaro Vazquez said, "but it would be naive to think that there are no problems here. We have our fair share of problems. The province's party organization and all its working people are struggling to consolidate the revolution's achievements, deepen the process of rectifying mistakes, and overcome negative trends. The question of how to ensure more efficient economic management is the center of attention. Our standard and quality of labor is still not good enough. We are struggling to ensure high returns on capital investments and the rational use of scientific and technical achievements. We must be bolder in promoting young people. We have big plans for the future and we are certainly going to realize them." [passage omitted]

Academician Meets Venezuelan President

LD0608013489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2017 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] Caracas, 6 Aug (TASS)—Academician V.I. Burakovskiy, chairman of the Society for Friendship and Cultural Contacts between the USSR and Venezuela, made an official visit here from 27 July until 5 August. He was received by Carlos Andres Perez, the president of Venezuela. During their conversation the president displayed great interest in the process of restructuring in the USSR and expressed the desire for the further expansion and deepening of the economic, trade, scientific-technical, and cultural relations between our countries.

Burakovskiy lectured in the cities of Barquisimeto and Caracas about the domestic and foreign policies of the USSR which are being implemented in a spirit of restructuring. At medical establishments, he shared his experience in the diagnosis and treatment of heart ailments using computer technology and mathematical models. The findings of the scientist concerning diagnosis of heart ailments in new-born and infant patients and concerning modern methods of treating them evoked particular interest.

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet 4 Aug Proceedings Reported

Gorbachev Gives Closing Speech

LD0408172289 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1529 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the 4 August Supreme Soviet Session in the Kremlin—recorded relay]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! The issues on the agenda of the first session of the new USSR Supreme Soviet have been dealt with. We are now breaking up for the vacation, although I think that this is a term which can be used here in a very relative way, since the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions, Presidium, and apparatus have to continue their activities so as to get through the preparatory work necessary to allow us to carry out the extensive legislative program planned for the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. A hot autumn filled with intense work awaits us.

How is one to assess the results of 2 months of work by the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet? I know that there are differing views on this. Yet, I don't think anyone would deny that the Congress of People's Deputies and then the first session of the Supreme Soviet it elected have been critical events in the life of our country. We now have bodies of people's representation that are active rather than stage-managed, an all-Union rostrum from which deputies can speak freely, articulating the hopes, aspirations, and will of all strata of Soviet society. A sound foundation has thus been laid for a socialist law-governed state, guarantees of the irreversibility of perestroika have been strengthened, and sound political preconditions have been created for tackling its key task: that of combining socialism and democracy.

All of us can now affirm, having weighed up and considered everything, that the very plan of perestroika in the supreme bodies of the country's state power has been proved correct. As is known, this plan was based on Lenin's idea of combining the advantages of the Soviet system with the benefits of parliamentarism. If up until now there may have been doubts about the possibility of putting that idea into practice, there is now, I believe, no place for such doubts. The congress has shown itself to be a powerful tool of the people's will, capable, on the basis of a democratic situation and democratic approaches, of addressing the most important issues, constitutional issues, including those pertaining to our state and social development. This assessment can be applied, with equal justification, to the USSR Supreme Soviet as well.

Can one consider the Supreme Soviet session to be a continuation and deepening of the work of the Congress of People's Deputies? This, in fact, is not a rhetorical question. It's one that is constantly on the agenda, and we hear various answers to it. Actually there were

doubts, as we recall, over whether the new Supreme Soviet would be capable of articulating the congress's ideas and competent to put into effect the course plotted by the congress. It seems that by its work the Supreme Soviet session has dispelled these doubts, or will do so subsequently, I think, if doubts still linger in some people's minds. It seems that by its work the session is demonstrating a commitment to the course thrashed out by the congress and is doing everything to put that course into effect.

We have tried to bring as much professionalism as possible into the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, without detriment to our links with the masses; without detriment to our links with the masses to move on from methods of discussing issues by meetings. On the whole, I think this too has been successful. Thus, one has every reason for saying that we have come up with an effective version of a permanently functioning supreme legislative, executive and supervisory body of power that puts into effect the course plotted by the congress.

Fears that the Supreme Soviet might stand aloof from the entire body of 2,000 deputies and turn into some sort of closed collegium have also proved unfounded. Virtually every joint or separate sitting of the Supreme Soviet chambers involved a representative detachment of people's deputies who were not members of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies who are not members of the USSR Supreme Soviet had every opportunity to take part in the debates, to submit their own proposals and to exert a real influence on the course of the discussion and the decisionmaking. This is witnessed by our final sitting today. Thus there has been no weakening of the link of continuity between the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet in this sphere either.

In doing the groundwork for the new structures of the bodies of authority, we proceeded from the fact that the main formulation of the problems will be carried out in the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet. In this sphere too, the conception of the political reform has confirmed its validity. More than 900 deputies in the commissions and committees have become involved in multifaceted work, moreover—to be frank about it—while experiencing a shortage of time. Here half of the overall number of deputies who comprise the committees and commissions consist of USSR people's deputies who are not members of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Specialists and eminent scientists in various branches of knowledge were broadly brought into this. The creative potential was brought together which could be mobilized for the examination of one problem or another. I would, however, like to stress that the possibilities of this type of functioning of people's power are far from being completely exploited for the moment. I think you will agree with what I have stated. In the future, I think that the share of the work of the commissions and committees in the overall volume of the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet will grow.

Noting these undoubtedly positive and very important results of the work of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, I think that you and I should see both the shortcomings and the weaknesses in their organization and functioning. We cannot fail to be concerned by the fact that we were not always well organized, and that led to a loss of precious time. Our press and citizens' appeals pointed out symptoms of such parliamentary ailments as excessive loquaciousness and a tendency to make turgid speeches and sometimes, on the other hand, a lack of parliamentary culture in our contacts with one another. This and a great many other things did occur. Our new supreme bodies of power are naturally still a long way from operating to their full capacity. They have not made use of all their inherent potential.

However, it cannot but be noticed that, hardly having begun its activities, the Supreme Soviet began, literally from one day to the next and in front of millions of people watching its work, to gather momentum, enhancing its competence and demonstrating an in-depth approach toward tackling problems. Speeches made from this rostrum gain importance as far as their political significance is concerned, and they become more competent as far as their tangible content is concerned. The level of discussions and their fruitfulness at the sitting of the committees, commissions, and chambers are improving. The deputies are mastering the art of legislative work and are gaining experience.

In a word, the general impression from the Supreme Soviet's first session makes it possible to express the confidence that we will have a strong, capable Soviet parliament. Maybe at present it is not yet such, but I am convinced that the grounds for such a conclusion exist at present. This means that political solutions, upon which the country's and the people's destiny depends will henceforth always be prepared, discussed, and adopted not by a narrow circle of persons, but by those chosen by the people, not in closed session, but publicly, for all of society to see and not just that, with a most active participation of the Soviet people, since the rapid development of the Soviet people's political awareness represents, along with the formation of the highest legislative bodies of power, a most important result of the first stage of the political reform.

Our mass media reported that in the last 2 1/2 months the country had gone through a school of politics. I suppose that as far as its intensiveness is concerned it was a university writ large. The education of active citizens represents yet another result of political reform, and its importance is maybe greater rather than smaller.

And now about what can be regarded as practical results of our work. It must, above all, be stated that new relations have been set up between the legislative and the executive authorities, as they should be by their nature and purpose. For the first time in our country in the whole post-Lenin period, a government was formed of

which every member had to undergo a strict examination by the deputies to begin with in the committees and commissions and subsequently at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet chambers.

Having received a mandate of confidence, the leaders of our departments are now committed to applying all their efforts and capabilities toward fulfilling the programs they have drafted and the obligations they have undertaken to resolutely push forward with perestroika.

It goes without saying that the Supreme Soviet will continue in the future to control the work of the government, without, at the same time, overburdening it with inordinate petty tutelage. I think that this also should be clear to all of us, comrades.

The endorsement of the composition of the government is part of the organizational function of the Supreme Soviet. It is already clear now that it will occupy a large place in the work of the chambers, committees, and commissions. Yet their main area of activity is legislation. Here, in a comparatively short period of time—I really want to repeat myself here, that time has clearly been short—we have succeeded not only in adopting a number of urgent decisions, but also in creating a firm springboard for the future.

In the first place, legislation regulating the actual organization and sequence of work must be prepared for approval at the next session of the Supreme Soviet, and in this respect a great deal has already been undertaken and accomplished. There has been the law on the status of people's deputies, the regulations of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and a number of others. Their significance is immense. It is clear to everyone that the effectiveness of the Supreme Soviet's work depends to a large degree on how finely tuned its mechanism is, how well regulated its procedures are and how precisely and well coordinated its auxiliary services operate, and so forth.

Second, a series of laws is being intensively prepared which will create legal bases for the future development of economic and political reform. The most important of these, the examination of which, as we have stipulated, should be treated as a priority, are the laws on ownership, land and land utilization, lease-contracting, a single tax system, the general principles of local self-management of the economy, the general principles of administration of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics, the procedure for settling collective labor disputes, the rights of trade unions, and on young people.

There are grounds for hoping that as early as the autumn we shall be able to embark on a thorough examination of legislation on the Constitution—which immediately follows the law on the press and the other mass media, on public associations of citizens, and on freedom of conscience.

The USSR Supreme Soviet concentrated its attention primarily on economic and social problems. This was strongly manifested both in the formation of the government, where in essence these issues were the central ones, and was also fully demonstrated in the discussion on the issue of transferring the Baltic republics to financial autonomy. The discussion was very active and the joint search led to the adoption of decisions which are very important for our whole federation.

Economic problems with all their complications and contradictions were the object of intensive examination during the confirmation of decrees proposed for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Once again in the deputies' sights were such key issues of economic management at the present stage as leasing, financial autonomy, cooperatives, the tax system, and other things.

Particularly noteworthy are the changes introduced by the Supreme Soviet to the law adopted earlier on state enterprise. As you know, this question did not appear on the agenda initially. The fact that it was introduced at the session shows that the Soviet parliament is sensitive to impulses coming in from life outside. It is precisely life itself which demanded that amendments be made to the existing law, and if there is a need to open the way for the more rapid progress of the economic reform. I think that a major and important thing has been done and that this will be assessed at its true worth.

Undoubtedly one must include among the most important results of the work of the congress and the Supreme Soviet the adoption of decisions on acute and urgent problems in our development. I am referring primarily to the law we passed 2 days ago on urgent measures to improve the pension provision for the population. The people's deputies demanded the acceleration of the resolution on this issue which is most painful for society and helped the government to find the necessary funds. The party, trade unions, Komsomol, Peace Fund, labor collectives, management bodies, and many other social organizations have made their contribution. This practical measure shows, better than any statements, that the Supreme Soviet considers its main concern to be to satisfy the vital requirements of the people and primarily of those sections of the people who are most in need of help.

The USSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to speed up the formulation of a draft law on the pension provision and to present it this year. On the instructions of the deputies the decision has been made to import goods and medicines which will make it possible to increase the internal trade turnover by approximately R10 billion.

Of course, far from everything can be resolved at once. Restricted resources, the disorder in the country's financial situation, and the sluggishness in implementing

perestroika are having an effect. In the autumn months we will prepare and adopt far-reaching decisions concerning economic reforms and improving the economic situation in the country.

We have firmly embarked on the road of straightening out the distortions which we inherited from the past, and even those problems which have arisen in the recent past. The Supreme Soviet Commission for Benefits and Privileges has started working. The commission proposes handing over without delay for general use those children's and treatment sanatoria institutions which are in the control of the fourth main directorate of the USSR Ministry of Health. The commission also proposes handing over for general use a number of rest houses of the fourth directorate with the aim of organizing, on that basis, complexes of the mother and child type. I believe that this proposal is correct. That is also the viewpoint of the government.

I can also report on this that a decision has been made for the same reason to hand over state dachas in Pitsunda and a number of dachas in Moscow Oblast in addition to those which have already been handed over. The commission has called on the councils of ministers of union republics to adopt similar decisions in the very near future and to make them public.

Comrades, I believe that during the congress and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet we have felt fully the urgency of tackling the ecological problem. At the autumn session of the Supreme Soviet the question of ecological safety must be posed with all sharpness. The country is demanding the adoption of the most resolute measures in this sphere. The appropriate committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet must concern themselves practically with how work is going on developing a national ecology program and take charge of it. This is not simply a question of the disposition of productive forces. It is not simply local problems of, say, cleaning up enterprises which are having a negative effect on the environment. It is a question of the very life of our people, their present and future. This is how we must approach the tackling of this most important problem. I must say that already today representatives of the Ecology Committee have made proposals—when we assemble in the autumn, without waiting for the completion of the formulation of the comprehensive national program which should both become part of the 13th 5-year plan and of subsequent 5-year plans—aimed at immediately isolating urgent problems so that government decisions and, in those cases where necessary, decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet can be made on them. I believe that these proposals will have been prepared by the time of our return from the recess, and we will be able to evaluate them and then agree on how to act.

Talking about the results of our activity, I cannot overlook one more point. The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet has taken place in a very complicated period. Over the last month and a half we have—to put

it frankly—literally not had a single quiet day. The USSR Supreme Soviet, like party and government bodies, has been drawn directly into all the events and conflict situations which have arisen in these days. We have all had consultations together on how to quell the centers of the conflicts, to calm passions, to restore justice where it has been violated, to care for the victims, and to rule out a repetition of similar phenomena in the future.

In talking about this I mean primarily interethnic relations. Of course, these problems cannot be solved at a gallop. Commissions formed by the Soviet of nationalities of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and on the problems of the Meskhetian Turks, the Crimean Tatars, and the Soviet Germans are working now. All-round study and a painstaking search for a solution of problems which have come to a head, taking account of the interests of all the peoples of the country, are in progress. This work is complex, but we must find the best solutions to all these problems together. Solutions cannot be found through exacerbation, but by means of joint, constructive efforts. We now need patience, mutual respect, and joint efforts.

I want in particular to say something, although I have already done so, about the fate of refugees, that large proportion, that proportion of people who have suffered such a calamity. We must all think, above all, about what interethnic conflicts can turn into. That's the first thing.

The second thing is that we need to do everything to pay attention to these people, wherever they might be now, and, the main thing, to exclude the causes which give rise to the stream of refugees, by acting together. I think...I thought it necessary to speak about this, because even on the last day the Supreme Soviet is receiving signs that passions have not yet abated everywhere, far from it, but have even grown more strained again in some places.

Comrades, I believe that, even on its last day, the Supreme Soviet appeals to all our peoples to display self-restraint, patience, respectfulness and, most importantly, to seek to remove all problems via reconciliation and accord. There is no other way. Any other approach will lead us into a dead end, to human dramas.

I think that we must say this today, on the last day, on behalf of the Supreme Soviet to all our peoples. The strikes in the coal-extracting regions of the country were a serious test for us. Energetic and concerted actions were necessary by the party, the government, and the trade unions in order, together with the labor collectives, to emerge onto the path of solving the demands submitted by the miners. It has to be said that a great deal of help was contributed to this by deputies from those regions who traveled to their electorates and actively joined in the search for a way out of the situation which had developed.

A rebuke has sounded here today to the effect that our government became frightened and almost got into a panic, and I think that here my speech was in mind first and foremost on this question, when signals were coming through about the possibility of a strike by railwaymen. I want immediately to repudiate such suspicions. There are no moods of panic in the country's government and leaderships although there are some people who are trying to make our people believe that it is so. But I think that in those difficult days the leadership communicated honestly its alarm and its realistic appraisal, without any false cheerfulness, and it said bluntly what might emerge if these events were not stopped and if they developed. We did this, and in my view correctly and responsibly; that is how a frank and honest dialogue should be conducted in the stage of perestroika with our people.

This is not panic, but what we call perestroika. This is a reply to all critics who are exploiting this subject for their own ambitions and for purely selfish aims. There can be no doubt that the discussion of these questions at the session and the appeal adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet calling for an end to strikes, which were inflicting a great loss to the country, as soon as possible played a major role. We all ought to draw lessons from what took place. The first of them is that in conditions of perestroika, democratization, and reforms, all problems which arise should be resolved along paths of constructive dialogue between the bodies of power, management, and the working people, with the aim of achieving solutions which are acceptable to this or that group of the population, and to all society, and of course in the context of the real possibilities which our country has at its disposal today. Here it is particularly essential to have full cooperation between the center and localities. I have already had occasion to talk on this subject. It must be admitted that now, when we have to come up against a number of acute economic and social problems the temptation arose in some cadres to remove blame from themselves and to transfer it to others—and this takes place both at the bottom and in the center. Local leaders begin to accuse the central bodies and departments of all mortal sins, and the latter in their turn rebuke the localities for inactivity, an inclination toward depending on others, and a striving to grab more from public resources. Of course, there is a share of truth in the rebukes of both sides. As to which of them is greater, we need to investigate in every specific case, and only in this way should we act. But it is probably far more important to establish a well-balanced and well-considered division of work and rights, than to heap blame on one another for blunders and failures. In essence, comrades, this is now the main question of all reforms, both economic and political.

The Supreme Soviet has already adopted a number of relevant decisions but we still have quite a lot of work in that direction. I will speak of another sphere in which, it must be honestly admitted, we have not yet managed to achieve the desired improvements. This is the struggle against crime. We all have a legitimate feeling of anxiety and indignation due to the fact that it has assumed threatening proportions recently. There are undoubtedly certain economic and social reasons behind this.

However, in the first place is the weakening of the activity of the law enforcement bodies, the fact that there is not enough assistance to them from the public and, if you like, provision of their activity with the necessary legal norms and statutes.

You and I gave, in a general form, instructions for the rapid preparation of legislative acts connected with the implementation of the judicial and legal reform. However, honestly speaking, I, and I suppose you delegates too—and I felt that today again—still have a feeling of dissatisfaction that we are going away without expressing our principled position here at the present session of the Supreme Soviet.

It is because of this that I have found it necessary to present for your consideration a draft decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet on decisive measures for combating crime. I think that its adoption opens a new stage in the struggle against crime. Such a decision is dictated by the situation which has arisen in the country. I am confident that such a position of the USSR Supreme Soviet will be approved by our whole society, and I think that the actions of those new organs which we are creating on the basis of this decision will be supported by all Soviet people.

Even at its first session the Supreme Soviet began to consider international questions. An appeal to the U.S. Congress on the question of a moratorium on nuclear explosions and ceasing nuclear tests was adopted. Three international enactments of the USSR have been ratified. Decrees have been confirmed on the question of creating mixed enterprises and Soviet trade missions abroad. Plans have been mapped out to exchange state and parliamentary delegations. The deputies heard reports on the results of visits to Britain, France, and the FRG; on a conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states; and on the trip to Brazil and Argentina by a delegation of the Supreme Soviet. A report was heard on the participation of the Supreme Soviet representatives in an international parliamentary conference on the Near East.

That is a brief review comrades, of what it proved possible to do as the first session. As you can see, for all our dissatisfaction with our work, we have positive things to register too. But the results of the first session do not of course boil down to just this. They are more weighty and more varied. The Supreme Soviet provided positive stimuli in many areas of domestic policy. I would stress here above all that the proceedings of the Supreme Soviet, following on the congress, have given a strong spur to local bodies of power, and they heard and took in the Supreme Soviet's appeal to them.

I think that very great importance is attached to the decision which was adopted on holding an extraordinary session of Soviets of People's Deputies, with reports from organizational and executive bodies, the centers of which would be posed questions connected with the

fulfillment of socio-economic programs of the regions and the working out of measures to resolutely overcome everything that is hindering perestroika.

The preparatory work in connection with the forthcoming elections to republican and local bodies is very complex and important. Previous discussions on these questions enable us to believe that solutions will be found which are acceptable to all and which meet the tasks of political reform. As you recall, the Supreme Soviet spoke out in favor of bringing forward the elections to Soviets of People's Deputies in the regions. We have already informed you that such work is already going on in the republics, and the necessary draft laws on the elections are in preparation. They will soon be published for broad discussion. Naturally, in order to give these draft laws the go-ahead, we must make amendments to the constitution. You and I have been discussing this problem thoroughly and in detail.

Today, the Supreme Soviet Presidium endorsed the composition of the commission which will prepare these amendments. We will submit them to the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet. As far as the congress is concerned, the amendments can be endorsed by a poll of all the USSR people's deputies. All this will provide an opportunity for the timely development and conduct of the election campaign. As I understand it, this answers the discussions at the plenary sitting of our session—on 24 July of this year, I think—and I think that all the deputies agree on this, including, as I understand it—and I chatted with Comrade Popov about this today—that such is the opinion, too, of the interregional group of deputies, of those who are part of that group.

In the main, then, comrades, we can rightly say that the USSR Supreme Soviet has declared itself to be an authoritative link of our self-renewing political system. Its role is a tangible one, and it will undoubtedly grow. I have no doubts whatever about that. This places great responsibility upon us and commits us to improve still more the work of the committees and commissions and to enhance the general culture of the Soviet parliament. Everyday questions must be solved more quickly so that the members can carry out their duties as deputies peacefully and fruitfully. The apparatus of the Presidium must concern itself with all of this.

But, of course, most important is the atmosphere which prevails in the Supreme Soviet. Its ideal formula—if I may express myself this way, so to speak—contains, I feel, two elements which are tightly linked to each other. They are absolute freedom of discussion and the opportunity to express any views and positions, on the one hand, and a mood attuned to seeking to achieve a sensible common decision or, where possible, a consensus, on the other. I feel that, as a whole, the work of both the congress and the Supreme Soviet has proceeded in this spirit, albeit not without problems.

But a different trend has also made itself known. The establishment of the Interregional Group was announced to us recently. In essence, this is an attempt to provide some kind of organizational forms for natural differences in views and approaches to the problems of social development. Some comrades in the Interregional Group have called themselves leftist radicals. What follows from this? Is it that the others have to consider themselves, or even declare themselves, as centrists or right-wingers? As for how the cause will gain from this, I have difficulty so far in answering that. All this needs to be considered very thoroughly. Won't we get some kind of artificial boundaries and confrontation on specific problems which our Supreme Soviet has to solve?

Won't this at the same time complicate the fulfillment of the tasks which the voters, Soviet society, are expecting from us?

To be frank, in the discussion which has already started up on the Interregional Group—if we ignore provocative calls from some members of that group, especially where they make them during outside meetings—in all the rest of the discussion no opinions at all have been heard which could not have been delivered here, from the rostrum of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Is this not the best proof of the need to consolidate, and not to set up boundaries? If we have a common cause, if we all consider it our supreme duty to extricate the country from the crisis on the path of perestroika, to raise the level of the people's material and spiritual well-being, to renew our socialist social system and to tap its rich potential—if we agree with that, we will always reach agreement. [applause]

I believe that the deputies will agree that this is the path along which we must proceed—the path of joining forces and strengthening mutual trust. This in no way denies the opportunity to stand up for principled views.

The past days of the work of the Supreme Soviet have already visibly shown that pluralism of views cannot be an obstacle to unity of action. A few words about the organization of the work ahead. It would clearly be advisable to start the autumn session of the Supreme Soviet with the work of the committees and commissions. The package of draft laws which you have been given must be thoroughly studied in the working organs of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Such work could already start up from Monday, 18 September.

Everyone, as I understand, agrees with this. A week's work by the committees and commissions will allow a more prepared approach to the joint sittings of the chambers. They can start on 25 September. An undoubtedly important event of the remainder of this year will be the Second Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. We must prepare extremely thoroughly for the forthcoming congress. It will sum up the results of the work of the Supreme Soviet in a definitive sense. Much of what is planned to be raised at the congress cannot be deferred

or postponed. This applies first and foremost to questions of constitutional construction. Urgent changes and additions to the basic law must be precisely worked out and formulated in the very near future. The appropriate commission has been set up, and it is operating. After a discussion of this question in the Supreme Soviet, it will be passed for a final decision to the next congress. At the second congress we will have to adopt such major, radical measure...also adopt major, radical measures on restoring the health of the economy. We will have to determine the basic directions of the development of the national economy in the 13th 5-year plan and for a lengthier period. The fate of perestroika and our future will depend to no small extent on how far we are able to embody in them the vital requirements of development, make our aims compatible with our potential, and mobilize the entire production potential.

And so, comrades, there is much responsible work ahead. Its content and rhythm are conditions by the acuteness of the problems facing the country and by the urgent tasks which we have to tackle as a matter of priority. In conclusion, I want to wish you, dear comrades, a good holiday—I think that you have all earned it—and successful results to those who are going to meet their electors or continue working in committees and commissions. I declare the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the first convocation closed. [applause]

Supreme Court Chairman Gives Speech

LD0508223389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1358 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Speech by USSR Supreme Court Chairman Smolentsev at the 4 August USSR Supreme Soviet morning session in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies: In the conditions of a law-governed state, judicial authority should be one of the most important elements in the structure of state power, alongside legislative and executive authorities. This signifies, firstly, the independence of the courts with regard to other state bodies, and, secondly, that the state must provide conditions for the independence status of the courts. To adopt decisions in the name of the state, judges must be protected from external influence and coercion, in order that they may administer justice on the basis of the law and in accordance with their convictions. In recent years, our society has practically unanimously come to an understanding of the fact that the courts are a most important institution in a well-ordered state. It is impossible, however, to enhance the role of the courts with appeals alone. Radical measures are needed, above all ones of a legal nature. With complete justification one can include among the measures aimed precisely at achieving this the draft law presented for you to discuss on the status of judges in the USSR.

Permit me to dwell on only the principal provisions of this draft and also on the questions for which no categorical decisions are proposed. We believe that the main

purpose of the law is to create conditions for the improvement of the work of courts, providing guarantees for the independence and unassailability of the courts and also to determine the demands to be made on candidates for the post of judge with aim of raising their professional competence.

Article 3 of the draft contains a list of the basic guarantees of judges' independence. Here it is stressed that their independence is ensured by the procedures established by the law for their election and for releasing them from their posts, by the unassailability of judges, by strict juridical procedures and the administration of justice, secret deliberation on making decisions, answerability for disrespect to the court or interference in ruling on specific cases.

As one of the foremost guarantees, the provision has been put forward on the procedure for electing and releasing judges. Judges of the first and second level should be elected by the higher soviets of peoples deputies and members of the supreme courts by the corresponding Supreme Soviets, and instead of 5 years, a period of 10 years is established for their term of office. The selection and recommendation of candidates for the post of judge should be carried out in consideration of the opinions of labor collectives and only if there exists a positive decision from an expert collegium of judges. The expert collegium of judges will be set up starting with oblast level judges and going up to the USSR Supreme Court. Their tasks will include ensuring that only worthy candidates are put forward for work as judges. They will be engaged in the attestation of judges and, where necessary, in issuing decisions on their preterm recall.

The demands that must be met by the candidates are defined by Article 8 of the draft. The candidate must have reached the age of 25 by election day, have higher legal education; if he is being recommended for the first time as a people's judge he must have worked for at least 2 years in a juridical speciality; he must undergo professional training and pass an examination set by the collegium of experts.

Even higher demands are made on candidates for the post of judge in higher courts. They must have been engaged in juridical work for at least 5 years and have been directly engaged in court work for 2 years.

If one adds to this the new procedure for electing judges which, as is shown by the experience of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, one can count on it that at sessions of soviets of peoples deputies at other levels the procedure certainly will not be purely formal the formation of the corps of judges in the country will be guaranteed against the workings of chance.

The draft envisions the annual convocation in oblasts, krays, okrugs, and republics of conferences of judges at which there will be discussion of questions which have

arisen in judicial practice about the application of legislation and work experience will be generalized. The annual conferences and the expert collegiums elected by them are a sort of bodies of public self-rule of the corps of judges called upon to decide, on a democratic basis, many vital questions of the work of the courts. Without a decision from the expert collegium, no nomination of candidates for the post of judges, no preterm recall of judges, no disciplinary answerability and no career promotion will be possible.

The bases for the procedure for recall and preterm dismissal of judges and their disciplinary answerability have been clearly defined. The draft proposes that judges cannot be prosecuted and arrested without the agreement of the relevant Supreme Soviet, and in the periods between sessions, of the Presidium of the Soviet.

During discussion of this question, a debate arose in the committees. A proposal was introduced with the aim of raising the guarantee of the inviolability of judges, to put not only the prosecution of judges under the control of the relevant soviets of people's deputies, but the very fact of the initiation of a criminal case, that is to say, what is now envisioned with regard to prosecutors. It is not hard to imagine that the initiation of a case, and the relevant investigation without the agreement of the soviet, could compromise the judge to such an extent that a subsequent decision by the soviet of people's deputies not to prosecute could be devoid of any meaning for this person, as the person would be unable to continue to work as a judge. Objections were made to this proposal, which boiled down to alleging that someone could make the adoption of practical measures to investigate warnings of a judge's illegal actions difficult, and this could lead to a weakening of the struggle against corruption. As a point of information, I can tell the deputies that last year five court workers were prosecuted. To guarantee the unacceptability of any interference in the settlement of specific court cases, the draft envisions that the mass media should not have the right to predetermine in their reports the results of court investigation before the decision or sentence has been handed down. These provisions are in accordance with the constitutional principle of the presumption of innocence, and they are not in contradiction with the principle of glasnost, insofar as the mass media are in no degree limited in their exposition of the events of the crime, the course of the court investigation, and the positions of those taking part in the court process. They are only prevented from calling someone a thief or murderer, or guilty of some crime or other or at fault in a civil trial, until the court decision has been handed down.

The court, naturally, cannot be above criticism. Therefore, after a sentence has been handed down, the mass media have the right to draw conclusions on any question of the court's activity. I must say that we not infrequently correct court errors according to materials published by our correspondents, and I will not hide the fact that we are grateful for that.

Judicial independence is, of course, a moral and psychological problem. Only candidates who have a sufficient amount of knowledge, a mature age, and experience in a correct understanding and application of the law have the right to obtain the powers of a judge and to use them independently, submitting to the law alone. Furthermore, they must be morally pure, just toward people, and able to withstand outside influences. It is supposed that Articles 8, 9, 10, and 11 of the draft will create sufficient legal prerequisites, which, if observed, will mean that worthy people are elected to be judges.

At the same time it must be said that the legal status of judges is far from equal to their social status, which is determined to no small extent by the conditions of their work and salary. I would like to say here that judges today find themselves in an exceptionally low position as far as their material and technical provisioning is concerned. The salary of a judge is significantly lower than the average wage in the country as a whole. A people's judge in a village gets R170-180 per month, and in towns up to R200. For these reasons, the corps of judges here is formed on the one hand according to the principle of making do with what is left, and on the other there is a drain of judges from among the most highly trained workers. There is still a long time before the spring elections of people's judges, yet today 4,000—in fact, one in four of the people's judges—have already stated that they will not agree to run again. Naturally, there will be more such statements before election time. If the situation does not change, it will be very hard, not to say impossible, for us to carry out judicial and legal reforms. At the same time, all these questions could have been solved painlessly—and without expenditures from the state budget. The question arises of [introducing] an insignificant rise in state duties and other expenditures connected with judicial service for the people. The rates of state duties were established here in the twenties and thirties, and have not been reexamined since that time, in spite of a number of reforms and other measures that have taken place. Today, for example, for payment of a state duty of 30 kopeks for a suit of a nonproperty nature—and you know, an ice cream in the street costs 50 kopeks—you can have a case running for years and not bear any material expense, going through all the court instances starting with the people's court up to the supreme court, through everything, the state and party bodies, and to you, deputies.

Now I would like to talk about how you can now get a copy of the court decision and discussion, regardless of its volume, even 30 or 40 typed pages, for 20 kopeks. In this connection a proposal was introduced to somewhat raise court costs [raskhody]. If this proposal is adopted, the material questions connected with providing for courts and other bodies of justice can basically be solved.

Evidently there is no need, comrades, to dwell on other clauses in the draft law. I would only like to say that we have no objections to the remarks and amendments introduced at the committee session. The draft law lays

out the basic foundation essentially for the legal status of judges and is a basis for republican legislation. That is why it contains many cross references. In this regard the committee's proposal seems absolutely right to give specific mandates to work out the legislative acts and clauses which are referred to in individual articles of the law. The Ministry of Justice of the Union and the Supreme Court of the Union have already started on the implementation of the desires that were expressed at the committees. The USSR Supreme Court has already presented the USSR Supreme Soviet a draft law on responsibility for contempt of court and interference in the settlement of court cases.

In conclusion, comrades, I would like to stress that the preparation of the legal reform, in particular of the present law, coincided with measures by the world public devoted to the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was ratified by our government among others. The declaration puts forward and defends the thesis that every person has the right, on the basis of complete equality, for their case to be examined in the open, observing all the demands of justice by an independent and impartial judge. It is to the creation of just such of court that we all of us aspire. We imagine that the draft law on the status of judges in the USSR which you are discussing contains the basis for the implementation in this direction of the first step of our judicial reform, the first but very important one, not only in the legal, but also in the political sense.

I have finished. Thank you for your attention.

Konarev Candidacy Debated

LD0408233589 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1448 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Relay of the afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin on 4 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Gorbachev] I have to say—I shall formulate it verbally—that we have received representations from a large group of deputies, and above all members of the commissions that discussed the candidacy for the post of minister of railways. Comrade Konarev was the person in question. The deputies are raising the point that we should return to this, to this candidacy, and resolve the question of the minister—that is, comrade Konarev's candidacy. Just a moment. Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov has met the members of the relevant committee and commissions for a second time, and they did not come to a unanimous view at that meeting, and Nikolay Ivanovich did not thus have an opportunity to define his position. The situation now is that the deputies are suggesting that the matter of Comrade Konarev's candidacy be tabled in connection with the discussion of the question of the minister of railways. This, so to speak, is the deputies' view. They are making these representations, but we ought to ask comrade Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, for his view. So Nikolay Ivanovich, we have invited you because this is the situation that has arisen.

Moreover, this is quite a large group of authoritative deputies, so to speak, not to mention the fact that I have letters that have arrived for the Supreme Soviet and government. I've got the file here.

[Ryzhkov] Esteemed comrade people's deputies, yes, indeed, the government has recently received a very large number of representations from railway transport workers. There have been letters from the heads of the railways, there have been letters from ordinary workers. Part of the letters have been passed on to the Presidium. Many letters are at the Council of Ministers. They say that we should reconsider comrade Konarev's candidacy to the post of our country's minister of railways. I know...and a note came in from certain people's deputies, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, yesterday, who also propose that we should return to this matter. Mikhail Sergeyevich has already said that a few days ago, when we received a very large number of representations, I asked to meet the commission, the transport committee, and we discussed this matter. There is no united view there. Part of the comrades insist that the situation today is indeed such that we ought to go back to Comrade Konarev and recommend him for the post of USSR minister. The other part of members of the committee were against. Thus, with due regard for this situation, I did not officially table comrade Konarev's candidacy for this post. What is my own view? I shall not talk about all the problems of railway transport.

There are very many problems in railways transport, as there are many problems in general in the national economy, and there is no less a number of problems in railway transport. We see this from the point of view of people, we see this as citizens of our country, and from the point of view of being people engaged in production. I have no need to speak of the role of railway transport in precisely our country. The uniqueness of our country is that it differs greatly from the other countries of the world. Therefore, I would not like to mention this here. We discussed this issue in sufficient detail when we examined the candidacy of Comrade Konarev, and subsequently, when discussing various issues at the session of the Supreme Soviet, we returned on several occasions to the problem of transport. So that is the situation.

My personal opinion is as follows: that comrade Konarev could and can head the Ministry of Railways, and especially at the present time—a most difficult period in the development of our national economy. But I will tell you frankly: I will make the official proposal only when I sense the backing of the deputies of the Supreme Soviet. If you give your backing, I will make the official proposal; if not, that means no, as they say. [shouts from the hall] Maybe, we should indeed approach this to some extent with a deviation from the generally accepted rules when we nominated various comrades for a state post. In the final analysis, the Supreme Soviet may deviate from the established set of rules. If...maybe we need to—I do

no know how to call it—have consultations or some other form. But I consider that it is necessary to approach things from precisely such positions.

[Gorbachev] Good. Thank you, Nikolay Ivanovich. Is that all? Well then, I will continue. So that it does not appear anonymous, because I did not immediately locate these notes which came in, I will nonetheless say that the comrades have written: Having once again analyzed the situation that has come about in railway transportation, we consider it necessary and ask for the candidacy of Comrade Konarev to be brought up for secondary discussion of the Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] Deputies Yeltsin, Tetenov, Kolesnikov, Saepgin, Semenikhin, Danilov, (Saratov), Sazonov, Matyukhin, Nevolin, Kucherenko, Khmura, Zhdakayev, and others—illegible. This is what I was proceeding from when I brought this issue for discussion.

Nikolay Ivanovich's point of view is known to you. Perhaps I will express my opinion, too. I think we have a real person in Comrade Konarev, a major economic manager who, generally you know, can and does get going and decide the most major things. He is a most qualified and competent person with immense willpower and great organizing abilities. However, the remarks made by the deputies were largely justified, and they are connected, more likely than not, with the general state of our railway transportation, and the many unresolved problems that have accumulated there. I must say that Comrade Konarev—members of the Central Committee can confirm this—raised these issues, and acutely, at Central Committee plenums. He also raised them at the Supreme Soviet in the old composition, both in his formulations and in his notes. Incidentally, he defended them fairly well, displaying principle and willpower in doing so. If they did not find their solution, then this was probably dictated by something. The point today is not this, but I would not say that this person was somebody's toady, so to speak, one who blithely let problems accumulate, paying no attention in order merely to keep in with the bosses. You will not place him that category of people. And today, I should say, he was told—in the situation which was formed regarding him—told by myself and by Nikolay Ivanovich that he should continue to act. He got down to his duties, er, to the continuation of his duties when many questions arose among us. He is now acting most vigorously in order to untangle one knot after another. So I think, you understand, that the situation with transportation is indeed complex in the country, but we must consider this well all together, in the Supreme Soviet and with the government. As for Comrade Konarev, I have told you what I think. The comrades from the committees who met with me after meeting with Nikolay Ivanovich—here, along the way, so to speak—we exchanged opinions and I told them directly: My opinion is that I favor Konarev, but you must agree that with the government. That is all there is up to now. We can begin an exchange of opinions. No, hands may go up, but the comrades have

asked that the rostrum be made available for discussion of the candidacy of Comrade Konarev for minister. However, I understand things as follows: We are discussing not the candidacy, but should discuss this situation: [shouts from the hall] We will discuss...Well, fine then, here there is...one moment!

[Unidentified deputy] [passage omitted]

[Gorbachev] Fine. Then I am allowing things according to the order of the register, according to the order of the register. The first to speak is Comrade Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, then Comrade Kucherenko. [voices from the hall] Just a moment.

[Yeltsin] Comrades, my position is that, firstly, I know Comrade Konarev very well from working jointly with him both in the Urals and in Moscow, and I believe that he is capable of heading the industry and making the relevant conclusions from the criticisms that were addressed to him in the committee, commission, and here, at the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Secondly, it is unquestionably necessary that the USSR Council of Ministers render real and effective assistance to the Ministry of Railways in order to help to sort things out there, so to speak, and somehow extricate the industry from the failure that has occurred there. And, thirdly, this matter was submitted to our construction committee. We also conferred. And one person voted against, and all the rest were in favor of Comrade Konarev, in favor of perhaps clearing this hurdle—somewhat awkward though it may be for us—at this very grave and difficult moment for the country, in the belief that we should not go our separate ways without having confirmed a ministerial candidate. [applause and shouts of "hear, hear!"]

[Gorbachev] I'm sorry, I should have let Comrade Tetenov, chairman of the commission for labor, Communications and Information Technology...or transport [correcting "labor"]...speak first—I couldn't make it out because of the way it's written here. Over to you, Comrade Tetenov. Then it will be Comrade Kucherenko. I've squeezed out the main speaker!

[Tetenov] Comrades, it's been a month since the candidacy of the minister of railways failed to be confirmed. In that time, the members of the commission have carried out a difficult investigation and a scrupulous analysis of the causes, and a study of other possible candidates. It must be said that despite substantial indebtedness on the part of other ministries vis-a-vis the Ministry of Railways, the industry carried all national-economy freight in the past 3 years.

Complications with unloading took place mostly due to the lack of rhythm in the work of industry which brings forth industrial freight at the end of the month. And nevertheless, dispatch of freight since the beginning of 1983 has steadily grown. The state plan was fulfilled. Railway transport did not become a stumbling block for

the national economy. [bell rings to signify that the allotted time has elapsed]. Passenger conveyance also grew all the time and reached unprecedented levels not only in our country, but by comparison with the other countries of the world.

At the same time, the tension in conveying passengers did not allay. This can be explained by the fact that transport has not received 1,000 passenger railcars since the start of the 5-year plan. The stagnation in the country's economy has not bypassed railway transport. The difficult situation inside it has come about due to slow solution of social problems, due to difficult labor conditions, and to the constant shortage of equipment and materials. It must be said openly that the necessary care toward transport on the part of the State Planning Committee [Gosplan], State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab] and the government has been lacking to this very day. Capital investments have become more paltry by the year and consisted of 2 percent in the overall structure in the last 5-year plan period instead of 11 percent in the pre-war 5-year plan. Nevertheless, having come to the leadership at the start of the eighties at an extremely grave moment, the new minister was able to bring internal reserves into action and to increase the efficiency of work. The pace of housing construction increased, although it is clear that all the tasks which were set could not be decided. Transport is the nerve of the economy, and it is sore when there is such a situation in the country. At the current time, the negative moments which are occurring have complicated its work. [bell sounds again] In conditions of a shortage of freight cars, the rate of unloading them has declined by comparison with last year. Warehouses on wheels are standing in the Transcaucasus and in the Baltic area. Railcars are being poorly unloaded in Moscow and Leningrad at the same time as other regions of the country are awaiting them.

We have no right to make a mistake at a critical moment for the country. Ambitions should give way to sound reasoning. I will say that there is no equal substitute for Comrade Konarev in the general opinion of the apparatus of the Ministry. The work collectives in the localities are not nominating any other candidacy. The time does not allow for any unjustified risk and experimentation. When discussing the candidacy, the commission made serious remarks about future leadership which were perceived by Comrade Konarev in the right way. I have attempted to express with full openness and objectivity the opinion of the majority of the members of our commission. Esteemed deputies, I ask you to back the candidacy of Comrade Konarev for the post of minister of railways.

Konarev Appointed Minister of Railways

LD0408225289 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1529 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Remarks by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the evening session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin on 4 August—recorded]

[Text] [Gorbachev] We have received a letter from Comrade Ryzhkov on the candidacy for the post of

minister of railways. There is a proposal that we now consider this matter and with this end the work of the session, granting me a few words in conclusion to sum up somewhat, so to speak. Are there any objections?

[Voices in the hall] No.

[Gorbachev] We agree, then. First, I will read out the letter from Comrade Ryzhkov.

To the USSR Supreme Soviet:

Taking into account the opinions of a considerable number of USSR people's deputies, representatives of work collectives, and managers of the country's railways, the USSR Council of Ministers considers it possible to return to considering Comrade Konarev's candidacy for the post of USSR minister of railways. I consider that Comrade Konarev, correctly perceiving the criticism of serious shortcomings in the work of the Ministry of Railways, is capable of insuring competent leadership and tackling the urgent tasks of this important sector of the national economy. For its part, the USSR Government will take measures to extend the necessary assistance to the country's rail transportation system. I ask you to consider this matter.

[Signed] Ryzhkov.

That, then, was the letter. [indistinct voice in the hall] I do not know whether or not Comrade Konarev is here. [more indistinct voices in the hall] But we have listened to his report. Shall we continue the debate?

[Voices in the hall] No.

[Gorbachev] No? I will put it to the vote. Who is in favor of the appointment of Comrade Nikolay Semenovich Konarev as USSR minister of railways? Please raise your cards! Please count them! [pause during which there is background noise in the hall] One moment! Aha, 245. Which of you, comrades, are against? [pause] Comrades, the discussion has ended. Now we are only voting. [pause] 110. Who abstained comrades? [pause] Comrades, regarding the appointment of Comrade Nikolay Semenovich Konarev as USSR minister of railways, 245 were in favor, 110 voted against, and 23 abstained. Comrade Konarev is thus appointed minister. [applause]

Deputy Vnebrachnyy Speaks

LD0508124589 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1519 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Speech by Deputy Vnebrachnyy from territorial constituency No 265, at the afternoon sitting of the 4 August USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Excerpts] Deputy Vnebrachnyy, territorial constituency No 265. [passage omitted]

In general, comrade deputies, the very fact that a candidature for the post of minister which was not confirmed by the USSR Supreme Soviet less than a month ago is being put forward again gives me a painful feeling. Quite honestly, I expected greater respect for the USSR Supreme Soviet's decisions. [Applause] [passage omitted]

Believe me, comrades, I am feeling, in general, an inner drama, because as I have already said, I am a railwayman and I am speaking against the candidature of my own minister. I might be accused of a contemptuous attitude by my colleagues, some of whom have not yet thought of themselves as USSR people's deputies, but still think of themselves as subordinate to the leadership of the industry. I am being accused of contempt for departmental interests. Besides, they are reminding me that I will still have to work in the industry afterward, in the event of the Supreme Soviet saying that it had been joking before and in cancelling its decision and appointing the candidature which it had not confirmed. But I believe, in the first place, that the Supreme Soviet was not joking before and adopted a perfectly correct and wise decision. And here's why:

I am guided now, not by shortsighted considerations, but above all by the conscience of a representative of the people and of the working class, and by responsibility to my electors and passengers, who travel now in dirty, stuffy trains, without a minimum of service. I am also guided by responsibility to my voters who work on the railways—who, as we sit here, are keeping their difficult vigil without having normal conditions for their work and leisure—to passengers who are languishing in queues and suffering in waiting rooms, and moreover, and above all, to train drivers who do not even have the opportunity to take a rest before a journey and threaten safety when they drive the trains. You should know that they threaten the safety of traffic when they have not rested.

Nikolay Ivanovich, you have never asked yourself the question—I mean Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov—that we give the minister ties and rails, and he goes: That's our expression—he goes—meaning he works. We don't provide carriages, but he goes; we don't provide locomotives, but he goes. What does he go on? I can say with certainty and answer for my words: On exploitation. We are afraid of that word, but that's the way it is. In capitalism it's the capitalists who do the exploiting, but here it's the departments, through excessive exploitation of their own workers and through the violation of technological processes, which runs counter to those very documents which the minister approves—the rules of technical operations. That is precisely why many unpleasant incidents occur on the railways, including those with human casualties.

I could carry on talking about these outrages for a long time yet, but I value my time and shall just cite this example. We have spoken here about strikes, the possibility of strikes, including strikes by railwaymen. You will understand why I'm saying this. I know that at the

Ministry of Railways they even tied the possibility of strikes, and in particular intimidated even the leadership of the country, I felt, and us here—the leadership of the Ministry of Railways even tried to tie up this possibility of strikes—with the nonconfirmation of the minister. I know for certain that the attitude of the overwhelming number of railway workers to the decision of the Supreme Soviet, which we adopted when we did not confirm the minister, was that it was a logical decision and a logical reaction to our state of affairs in railway transport now. As for what is being said now about the enormous number of letters and telegrams in support of Konarev, let's not be naive. We have to realize—I'm just finishing—how it is done, how those telegrams are put together. I know how. In particular, they don't mention the flip side, when there are letters and telegrams containing the exact opposite—in other words, protesting against his confirmation.

I just want to say this: The railwaymen don't need to declare a strike, whether legal or illegal; it is enough for them to adhere to the rules on technical operations and of other transport laws, and all transport will come to a halt. I mean that in our transport sector there is a flagrant contradiction between the rules of technical operations and transport laws, and the technology which the ministry elaborates to accelerate—to be able to report that the plan has been fulfilled, and so on; and there is also a contradiction between the profits which the ministry posts up and the conditions in which railwaymen live and work.

Therefore—I'm finishing, just my sentence—otherwise, if the Supreme Soviet changes its decision after just a month, we can congratulate ourselves on how it is done. I shall then have to agree with Boldyrev, and we shall all agree with him, although I didn't agree with him before this. I shall also have to find (Mikhail Zhavanetskiy) and shake his hand for his monologue on how this is done. Thank you for your attention. [Applause]

Supreme Soviet Decree Rescinded

LD0408190489 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0637 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 4 August (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted the following law of the Union of Socialist Republics "On acknowledging the rescinding of the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 'on the procedure for handing over enterprises and associations from republican and local subordination to union subordination'":

"The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics resolves:

To acknowledge the rescinding of the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 8 June 1978 'on the procedure for handing over enterprises and associations from republican and local subordination to union subordination' and the USSR law on 6 July 1978 'on

endorsing decrees of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on introducing amendments to existing legislative acts of the USSR' in the sphere of endorsing the named decree (registers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 1978, No 24, page 382, No 28, page 442).

[Signed] Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, M. Gorbachev
Moscow, Kremlin. 31 July 1989"

Resolution on Crime Prevention Cited

LD0508141489 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1321 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 5 Aug (TASS)—The following text of the USSR Supreme Soviet decision "On the Resolute Intensification of the Struggle Against Crime" was circulated here today.

Crime, including organized crime, has increased sharply in the country. This gives rise to justifiable alarm on the part of the population and is complicating the progress of perestroika.

With the purpose of adopting the most resolute measures to intensify the struggle against crime, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To set up in the USSR, the union and autonomous republics, krais, oblasts, republican, kray and oblast centers, provisional committees to combat crime made up of chiefs of the bodies of the Procurator's Office, the Internal Affairs Ministry, state security, the courts and the judiciary, as well as of USSR people's deputies who have been elected or who are working on the corresponding territories. Administration of the work of the provisional committees is to be correspondingly entrusted to the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the union and autonomous republics to the chairmen of the presidiums of the republican supreme soviets, and in krais, oblasts and towns to the chairman of the executive committees of soviets of people's deputies.

The activity of the provisional committees to combat crime must be constructed on the foundation of the most strict observance of the requirements of the USSR Constitution and the laws of the USSR and the union republics, and based on the support of the broad Soviet public.

All state bodies, enterprises and establishments, and public organizations are obliged to render the provisional committees the utmost assistance in their work.

2. To adopt measures which create a real opportunity for staff of the internal affairs bodies, principally the militia, decisively to stop the activities of criminal elements. To propose to the USSR minister of internal affairs and the chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security that they elaborate, within a month, in agreement with the USSR procurator general, a procedure for the use, in accordance with legislation, of exceptional measures,

including the employment of arms when situations presenting particular danger arise, by staff of the militia and the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in critical conditions of the fight against the criminal element.

To consider it necessary, in the course of the elaboration of new criminal legislation, to envisage in the very near future measures to intensify criminal responsibility for attempts on the life and encroachments on the dignity of militia staff and other persons participating in the fight against crime and violations of public order.

3. To provide the militia with the technical equipment for urgent operations by mobile militia patrols and criminal investigation department staff. To instruct the USSR State Planning Committee to solve without delay the question of supplying the militia with motor vehicles, portable communications equipment, helicopters, and other technology and equipment.

To increase the numbers of internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for employing the essential measures in case of mass disobedience of criminal elements.

4. To oblige the investigative bodies and the courts, while strictly observing the lengths of sentence stipulated by legislation, to consider with maximum severity cases of piratic attacks, robberies, embezzlements, thefts, rapes, drug trafficking, speculation, poaching, and other crimes. Not to allow any relaxations toward dangerous criminals, leaders and active participants of organized crime groups, and recidivists.

5. To establish the indicated system of measures for a 2-year period with mandatory reporting back by the heads of the relevant departments on progress in its implementation to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviets of the republics and the USSR local Soviets of people's deputies.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet,

The Kremlin, Moscow.

[Dated] 4 August 1989

Regulation on Deputies Adopted

LD0408153489 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The passing of the provisional regulation on facilitating the work of USSR people's deputies was the final act of the current session of the Soviet parliament. The issue was discussed during the previous week and sparked heated debate. After revision, the draft regulation was again put to the vote today and endorsed by a majority.

The final version of the document establishes, in particular, that people's deputies have a right to be relieved from their official duties for the time needed to carry out their work as deputies. This was demanded by many during the discussion. A highly criticized clause prohibiting the use of financial, material and other resources of enterprises, establishments and organizations to facilitate the work of deputies was dropped.

On the final day of the session the Soviet Parliament again returned to considering the candidature of Nikolay Konarev, who was earlier rejected, for the post of rail minister. The Supreme Soviet and the government received many requests from railway workers to consider the issue again. A similar proposal was made by several members of the Supreme Soviet. Konarev was eventually endorsed as rail minister by a majority of votes.

President Mikhail Gorbachev then delivered his final speech at the session.

Further Reported on Supreme Soviet 3 Aug Session
LD0408230189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1650 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Maslyukov-led question-and-answer session on the economic plan at the 3 August evening session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Moscow Kremlin—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Primakov, in chair] Comrades, are there any questions for Yuriy Dmitriyevich?

[Maslyukov, laughing] No.

[Primakov] Yes. Deputy Chernichenko, please. If there are questions, then wait.

[Chernichenko] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, after the speeches by a number of delegates—I mean deputies—at the congress, the Committee on Agrarian Issues, collecting itself considerably, drew up a draft regarding our grain and food imports in order to stop our working as farm laborers for the United States, and to make \$5 billion, a third of what we send abroad, accessible at home. It has been over 10 days—2 weeks—since we, the joint set of committees and commissions, sat together and tried to do this and it was submitted. We thought that it was a fairly urgent matter, because every week of purchases is passing, and it is very important. But midnight is approaching, and German [character from Pushkin's "Queen of Spades"] has still not arrived. And your qualified statement said nothing at all about those \$5 billion. Surely that isn't a trifling sum? I'm talking about foreign currency rubles, quite simply.

[Primakov] The question is understood.

[Maslyukov] If I were God, I would ask you this question: Is this at the expense of the currency with which we purchase grain, or are they the additional currency expenditure of which....

[Chernichenko] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, it is open. If our people sell it more cheaply, then why is it necessary to buy it more expensively over there, and who benefits from it? This has been going on for 25 years, after all.

[Maslyukov] Right, let me tell you that a draft on this has been prepared. There are several options for solving this issue, but a final decision has not yet been adopted.

[Chernichenko] Do you think that the State Planning Committee [Gosplan] will actually be able to submit some sort of vote in the 13th or 14th 5-Year Plan?

[Maslyukov] Gosplan will be able to do it; but, as for whether the government will be able to adopt it, we shall have to check when it....

[Chernichenko] But we have secured Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's consent on this major point.

[Maslyukov] That is a question for Nikolay Ivanovich. I have told you that Gosplan will be able to do it, but we shall have to wait and see whether or not the government will adopt it.

[Primakov] Okay. Next question, please. [passage omitted]

[Deputy Yablokov] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, my question concerns an enormous source of finance about which we are somehow bashful or which we pass over quietly, and the dimensions of which, by various assessments, are R10 or maybe R70 billion each year—vodka sales. Everybody says—the economists or at any rate the experts—many are saying that if we halve the price of vodka, the state will receive the same amount, from R10 to R70 billion. Drunkenness, I can say, has now reached the same scale as before, prior to the vodka price increases, and there is an enormous black market. In other words, it seems...I simply do not understand why this isn't done. What sort of attitude is there? At a stroke we would cut the black market and obtain profits for the state.

[Maslyukov] I have already expressed my attitude from this platform, and I will not repeat it. I believe that no prohibitive measures of a punitive nature can correct social errors, errors in the socio-economic sphere. But we proceed from the premise that alcohol consumption should be in the measure defined by the relevant decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers.

[Yablokov] But we can solve it differently now.

[Maslyukov] In other words, there should be no more. And if more is needed, then you can adopt a decision when you examine the plan.

[Primakov] Okay. Nikolay Nikolayevich [next questioner], go ahead.

[Unidentified Deputy] Yuriy Dmitriyevich....

[Maslyukov] I get criticized because there is too little vodka, but you're criticizing me because there is too much. Well, that's a matter of taste.

[Deputy Engver] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, another question from microphone number 5. I'm Engver, Nicolay Nikolayevich, constituency number 658, city of Izhevsk. Yuriy Dmitriyevich, we have opportunities to obtain additional sources of foreign currency by developing tourism on the rivers Kama and Belaya, in our Ural region. In general, as for the development of foreign tourism, which does not take resources out, but leaves us, from impressions of our nature and cultural monuments, with the most valuable commodity, foreign currency—how will this be planned in the main areas about which you have reported to us?

[Maslyukov] That is a very good question, and it is good that you have asked it, Nikolay Nikolayevich. I get asked this question by people from Leningrad, and it is asked by everybody who has dealings with foreign tourism and with the benefits which that tourism can provide—on condition, of course, that we ensure the necessary level of services for tourists. Therefore, you know that a special government decision has been adopted on changing the functions and changing the procedures for the activity of organizations dealing with foreign tourism. Special associations have been set up. Permission has been given to establish such associations in the republics. Complete financial autonomy has been permitting using—I can't remember the exact percentage, but, I think, over half the hard currency earned to maintain the level of services for foreign tourists. This is a good thing, but today it has been given to the republics and to the autonomous republics and oblasts to organize. In other words, there will be obstacles from the government's point of view. These are your own sources of income: They are financial autonomy and self-recouping in their pure form, so to speak; they form one of the factors where you need to take power in your own hands and work.

[Engver] Thank you very much.

[Primakov] Thank you. Go ahead, Comrade Kirilov.

[Kirilov] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, this is my question for you. I'm deputy Kirilov. You said that the internal debt is R32 billion....

[Maslyukov] 312.

[Kirilov] 312. That's in savings books, is it?

[Maslyukov] No, that is the debt of the state to banks, including the Savings Bank. As for saving books, the amount there is even slightly higher.

[Kirilov] Higher? And how much is there in stockings, so to speak?

[Maslyukov] Comrades, it is known precisely how much there is in stockings, but we don't know how much is in which stocking. But we know how much there is in stockings, because money issued is checked, and money received is checked. So, by our calculations, there is somewhere around 40 to 70, by various calculations—meaning from 40 to 70 billion.

[Kirilov] One more question. Is it planned to expand purchases of consumer goods abroad? That's an extremely favorable type of foreign economic activity, after all.

[Maslyukov] Answers on this subject have already been given many times. I said in my report, if you were listening, that we cannot do without purchases, but we cannot buy things with money which we don't have and which we cannot borrow. In other words, the measure in which purchases will be implemented will be decided by the plan, after examination in the government. I cannot tell you now the figure which will be adopted by the government. I simply don't know it. We have prepared our own proposals for this subject.

[Primakov] I just want to say we have been listening to a statement. We are not planning to hold a debate. If someone is insisting on questions, do please go ahead.

[Tetenov] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, I am Tetenov of the Commission of Transport. My question is what investments are being planned for 1990 by our transport ministries, in particular the Ministry of Railways, Civil Aviation, and the Maritime Fleet?

[Maslyukov] Well, I know the capital investments that are being provided for or what we have in our possession, but I do not want to mislead you and all those present, because the government has not yet looked at this matter. When they are examined together with your commission either myself or Comrade Bevzenko will tell you in detail what funds are being provided for what purposes and tell you how much is being provided to what railway.

[Tetenov] Could you not say more....

[Maslyukov, interrupting] I am not authorized to say, do you understand?

[Tetenov]...Could you not say more or less what they are at least?

[Maslyukov] I cannot.

[Tetenov] I understand.

[Maslyukov] It is because I do not know at present. [mixture of voices]

[Primakov] Comrades, what has been said here by Fedor Mikhaylovich and others is right. Comrades, we invited the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers here to make a statement. We did not plan to begin acting on this issue and to open a discussion. I only have Comrade Filshin's name down. Perhaps he will not speak now, since there is no debate. Is that okay? I simply want to thank Yuriy Dmitriyevich, and, if you have any questions left in this regard or if anyone wants to ask relevant questions, do so personally. Thank you very much, Yuriy Dmitriyevich.

[Maslyukov] Personally, you said?

[Primakov] Thank you. [applause]

[Maslyukov] I wish you all the best then, comrades. Thank you.

[Primakov] Now obviously the questions posed by Yuriy Dmitriyevich's statement need to be taken note of and thoroughly pondered by all deputies during the break in our work, because at the autumn session we shall get down to discussing the budget.

Supreme Soviet 13, 14 Jul Proceedings Reviewed
PM1807090189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Jul 89 Morning Edition pp 1-2

[Report by E. Gonzalyev, Ye. Zhbanov, M. Kushtapin and V. Tolstov: "Formation of Government Nearing End"]

[Excerpts] On 13 and 14 July the USSR Supreme Soviet appointed M.F. Nenashev, A.I. Kamshalov, N.I. Yefimov, A.S. Isayev, V.M. Malyshev, and V.A. Kryuchkov chairmen of State Committees and L.Ye. Davletova a USSR minister.

The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet continued work on the formation of the government cabinet at 1000 hours on 14 July under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

Everyone surely understands the interest with which the nomination of V.A. Kryuchkov to the post of chairman of the USSR KGB was discussed. And credit must be given to the candidate, who tried to satisfy that interest insofar as the limits of his short speech at the session allowed. Essentially, this speech for the first time in our state's history revealed the basic guidelines of the state security organs' activity and described the content, forms, and methods of their activity. Intelligence; counterintelligence; the protection of the state border—the world's longest border—and recently the addition of a 200-mile maritime economic zone as well; the struggle against particularly dangerous forms of organized crime; and finally, to an ever increasing extent, new areas of work such as the safeguarding of the country's commercial secrets and economic interests. V.A. Kryuchkov expressed the essence of the perestroika taking place in the security organs in the following phrase: It is not

society and the state which must adapt to the interests of state security but vice versa: the state security organs must serve the interests of the state and society and struggle not against people but for them.

V.A. Kryuchkov was appointed chairman of the USSR KGB, with 6 votes against and 26 abstentions. [passage omitted]

Before calling a recess, M.S. Gorbachev delivered a report on some current questions of the USSR Supreme Soviet session's work. A telegram was read out from Academician B.V. Piotrovskiy, director of the Hermitage museum, which said that the rumors that G.V. Romanov, former first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee, had received irreplaceable dinner services from the museum's collection for his daughter's wedding are false.

A telegram from Nagorno-Karabakh was read. In reply deputies urged the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan and the inhabitants of Nagorny Karabakh to show prudence and patience and gave an assurance that the USSR Supreme Soviet will find a solution to this problem. A number of other statements and addresses to the Supreme Soviet were also examined.

At the evening session, chaired by A.I. Lukyanov, Deputy T.O. Okeyev continued the discussion of the nomination to the post of chairman of the State Committee for Cinematography and expressed support for him. [passage omitted]

The chairman made a statement: Several deputies have sent notes to M.S. Gorbachev on account of the article "Federal Union" published in PRAVDA on 12 July. In their opinion, publications of this kind should not occur on the eve of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic relations. As A.I. Lukyanov went on to report, during the recess M.S. Gorbachev had already answered a question from deputies and suggested to them that they express their viewpoint in PRAVDA as well, if they so desire.

Then Deputies A.A. Shchelkanov and N.S. Sazonov spoke, giving their opinion on some procedural matters and the system of reciprocal relations between the Supreme Soviet and the state leadership of the country.

A.I. Lukyanov and Ye.M. Primakov gave rulings.

At this point the evening sitting concluded.

International Affairs Committee Meets 4 Aug
LD0408180789 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—At their final meeting before the recess, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee for International Affairs focused attention on the key issues raised by Mikhail Gorbachev in his

speech on the results of his visits to Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and France, as well as on the conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee.

New political thinking and restructuring in international relations, the committee's acting chairman A. Dzasokhov said, enables to considerably roll back the political philosophy based on confrontation.

When discussing Soviet relations with its Warsaw Treaty allies, the members of the committee stressed the importance of documents taken at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest which represent an integral programme of promoting a safe and peaceful Europe.

Reflecting the general atmosphere at the Congress of People's Deputies and in accordance with the instruction of the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Committee for International Affairs plans to speed up work on fulfilling international agreements, particularly, those which were signed during the Soviet leader's visits to Britain, FRG and France. Taking this into account, the members of the committee will enforce strict compliance of state agencies with Soviet obligations, especially in the field of international economic cooperation. Considering the urgent need to solve problems in this field, the members of the committee expressed readiness to join in this work. Deputies criticised the low efficiency of trips abroad by delegations and plans of their work abroad which were often badly prepared.

The deputies states the intention of the committee to enforce strict compliance with the spirit and letter of the resolution of the Congress of People's Deputies and its message to the peoples of the world, to effectively promote parliamentary supervision over the implementation of international links.

Agrarian Committee Discusses Law on Land Use
18240213 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Jul 89 p 1

[A. Dzyublo report: "The Main Wealth Is People"]

[Text] TASS—The number of pages of material on the draft law on land and land use, about which an argument flared at a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Agrarian Questions and Food, can be compared to the script of a full-length feature film.

Talking about the directions in the formation of this document the leader of the working group (formed of workers from the former State Agroindustrial Committee, the Ministry of Justice and other departments), Ye.I. Gaydamaka, remarked that the new law is essential in order to mend the tears that have formed here in land use. He recalled that any agrarian reform in any country is realized primarily through land legislation. No one doubted this assertion, nor the alarm with which the

existing system used to squander a main national possession and the catastrophic loss of fertile arable land was reported. However, in the typical ideas of how to insure that agriculture is handled by today's master of the land, many of those taking part in the discussions did not see that the new approach is consonant with the situation in the countryside today.

In this form, said USSR people's deputy V.A. Tikhonov, this draft cannot suit us. It is essential, he noted, explaining his position, to have a radical land reform that will establish a system of land tenure. And there is no need to confuse land tenure with land use. He should be talking not about use but full land tenure by the peasants, giving them the right to be the owners of output and the incomes derived therefrom, and the right to choose the purchaser of their output and to choose the supplier of resources.

A considerable part of the discussion was devoted to this problem. The exchange of opinions demonstrated the diversity of approaches from a polar difference in opinions to full coincidence of views. The debates essentially became a continuation, and in some sense an even deeper discussion, of the debate taking place today in society about the choice of ways to farm the land most efficiently.

Gorbachev Interviewed on Supreme Soviet Session
LD0508225589 Moscow International Service
in Polish 1300 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Interview with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev by Radio Moscow correspondents Aleksandr Plevakho and Vyacheslav Terekhov; date and place not given—Gorbachev's recorded voice in Russian heard in the background; first announcer reads correspondents' questions, second announcer reads Gorbachev's answers]

[Text] [First announcer] At the end of the first session of the newly elected USSR Supreme Soviet, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev granted an interview to Radio Moscow correspondents Aleksandr Plevakho and Vyacheslav Terekhov. This is the first exclusive interview given by the highest ranking Soviet leader to the foreign service of Radio Moscow since it was founded 60 years ago.

First of all, we would like to congratulate you, Comrade Gorbachev, and your colleagues in connection with the successful conclusion of the session and wish you success in the work to develop restructuring in our society. Our first question is: Comrade Gorbachev, could you tell Radio Moscow's 100 million strong foreign audience about the results of the session just ended, as well as conclusions that can be drawn from it as our nation's leader?

[Second announcer] I think the question is rather interesting, although it is a bit early to judge the results of that great work, that remarkable and important stage of our restructuring, and the country's recent history in general. Despite this, I will try to describe this in just a few words,

although frankly speaking, we still must think about what happened during this past 2-5 months, which—I am convinced—are taking and will take a significant place in our history. First of all, I would like to say that it was a great event for our whole society, for all members of the Supreme Soviet, for my comrades and closest colleagues, as well as for me as chairman of the Supreme Soviet. This event is the beginning of a breakthrough in the development of political reform. The process of a genuine transition of power to the soviets is continuing. This has already happened at the highest level and this is quite significant in itself. I believe that the Supreme Soviet we have now is the highest body of power operating on a day-to-day basis and capable of performing the most crucial lawmaking, administration, and control functions.

I think, Mikhail Gorbachev continued, that the first session has already proved that we have that body of power desired by our nation. Even amid all its shortcomings and inadequacies—which concern rather procedural problems and stem from the fact that we are gaining experience in parliamentary activity—this body of power has from the beginning undertaken to solve concrete problems. First, we have gained unique experience in forming a government. I believe that, as a result, we have an operational, highly responsible, and genuinely popular government. Moreover, through the Supreme Soviet this government has direct stable contact with the whole society.

Despite the fact that the Supreme Soviet was very burdened with work, it could adopt very important documents concerning economic and political as well as social reforms. In connection with this, I would like to recall the adopted law on the increases in pensions for the less well off members of our society. The humanity of the Supreme Soviet manifested itself in this as well as in sensitivity to problems pervading our society. I believe, Mikhail Gorbachev went on to say, that the Supreme Soviet has sown good seeds and built up major reserves, and that we will be able to see this at the beginning of autumn when we are debating and adopting major draft laws which should ensure further development of our society. They will be of crucial significance. What is more, we will gain not only clear landmarks but, I would say, that they will become a mechanism for our society to come closer to accomplishing the tasks facing it.

And one more thing. The Supreme Soviet in its first session has emphatically shown that our society has tremendous resources in terms of competent people as well as intellectuals. And how many new personalities appeared, what great sources of energy our perestroika revealed. Therefore, I believe that no one would dare to say that after all that has happened so far—I mean the Congress of People's Deputies and the first session of the Supreme Soviet—perestroika may come to a halt in its development, that it may die down. No. To my mind we have the

right to speak about the irreversible character of perestroika, although this does not mean that further process of restructuring will be easy, that it will come painlessly and smoothly, that everything will be straightforward.

We called our restructuring a new revolution. Therefore, everything will proceed in the same way as it proceeded in the revolutionary years at the revolutionary stage of development of this or that society. One thing is clear: The congress and then the Supreme Soviet came out firmly in favor of a socialist future and have shown their commitment to the choice we made in October 1917. We will renew our society, preserving our commitment to our values; and democracy and openness will create vast horizons for its development. This has already started and it is the chief gain of the current stage of political reform.

[First announcer] One could say, I suppose, that whatever the party envisaged and discussed is at present being implemented?

[Second announcer] Yes—I would say yes. The process of implementation has already started and will be continued in resolutions and legal acts which the Supreme Soviet and then the Congress of People's Deputies will adopt. It will be continued in the second stage of the political reform when regional and republican authorities join the action, when the process of transition of power begins at the level of the republics, at the level of the regional soviets. And thus, the train has set off and I think that it will continue to gain speed.

[First announcer] It seems that you personally, Comrade Gorbachev, are satisfied to a large extent.

[Second announcer] I have gained enormous satisfaction. This is because the ideas to which we dedicated our lives are being fulfilled. This satisfaction is also the result of the fact that the new organ of power has been formed at a very complicated time, when there is tension and confusion in society, when there are discussions about the present and the future. At such times, the new organ of power has proved itself committed to the policy of restructuring and its objectives. It is also very sensitive to the state of the public mind. I think that the new organ of power ensures our nation a constant presence in the Kremlin. And this causes great satisfaction.

[First announcer] The session of the Supreme Soviet coincided with the miners' strike. To what extent did the work of the Soviet parliament help to quell this unusual tension in the society at that time?

[Second announcer] I am convinced the Supreme Soviet exerted an enormous influence on our whole society. First of all, it had an understanding attitude to the miners' concerns and demands, not seeing in them a symptom of extremism but understanding that the people had decided to take such determined action because of the real standard of living. Principally feeling that strikes are unnecessary, the Supreme Soviet reacted to

the miners' demands by giving their full attention; and that enhanced our parliament's credibility with the miners and the working people. I think that the Supreme Soviet acted responsibly at that time, requesting all Soviet citizens to prevent an escalation of the dramatic situation. The nation heard this and expressed its support. I believe that personal ties by the Supreme Soviet with particular regions of the country had an enormous significance in normalizing the situation and in the success of the party's and government's efforts.

[First announcer] Some deputies made efforts to separate the party from the Supreme Soviet and to prevent it from playing the role which is its due. As far as we understand, the Supreme Soviet took a proper stance in this matter?

[Second announcer] I would say this: Discussions in this matter both at the congress and at the session of the Supreme Soviet reflect the process of demarcating the functions of the party echelons, the economy, and the soviets. This is not a simple process, either. First, the party needs this division to be able to make full use of its potential as the political vanguard of the society. It is hard to imagine how we will be able to achieve the goals of restructuring without the party, its theoretical and political inquiries, its ideological and organizational effort, or without its personnel policy.

Power is now being transferred to the soviets. However, not all branches of the soviets are prepared to assume such responsibilities.

I think that, apart from certain pronouncements, the whole discussion at the session of the Supreme Soviet was characterized by a sense of responsibility. I believe that the Supreme Soviet is aware of the role and significance of the party at the current stage of development and in the future, just as it is becoming aware of its role in the life of our society.

I think, Mikhail Gorbachev said in conclusion, that we are witnessing a very interesting stage; we are simply fated to succeed. Without it, our country might find itself on the fringes of historical progress, which would affect the life of our nation and society as well as the fate of the whole world.

[First announcer] That was an interview Mikhail Gorbachev granted to Moscow Radio correspondents.

Chairman Ryzhkov Interviewed on Wages, Prices
LD0608123289 Moscow International Service
in Slovak 1700 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Report on Supreme Soviet session including recorded interview with Chairman Nikolay Ryzhkov by Radio Moscow correspondent (Vyacheslav Terekhov); date and place not given—Ryzhkov speaks in Russian fading into Slovak, (Terekhov) speaks in Czech]

[Excerpts] The attention of deputies and journalists at the Supreme Soviet session was attracted by the speeches of Deputies Aleksandr Sobchak and Nikolay Travkin.

[passage omitted] (Vyacheslav Terekhov), a correspondent for Radio Moscow, interviewed Nikolay Ryzhkov, premier of the Soviet Government, about changes in the government's activities and about the initial results of the government's activities.

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] I also listened to the speeches of these deputies—it is true, these people always used to adopt an attitude toward the government that was to a certain degree negative and originally considered the government conservative. I am, of course, pleased that these people so highly assessed our performance.

What has happened during these past weeks? A painful—to say the truth—process of forming the government ended. Among its members are many interesting and active people. Bills considered today show that the government is able to discuss important problems thoroughly and come to decisions rather quickly. For example, the amendments to the Law on State Enterprise approved today had been drafted in a few days on the basis of suggestions by Supreme Soviet deputies. These are the first results of the new government's activities.

There are other facts that testify to the fact that the new government has begun to work courageously and progressively, that people who began to work there can think progressively and act quickly and successfully.

[(Terekhov)] Among such courageous proposals were the proposals put forward at the session by Academician Abalkin when he spoke about a need to retain at present only one priority direction in the development of national economy—production of consumer goods. Nevertheless, will not this lead to limiting all other important branches of national economy?

[Ryzhkov] Leonid Zabalkin really proved this idea and said it on behalf of the entire government. We think that in the present stage of our economic development, and taking into account difficulties that have appeared during this stage, it is the only correct solution. Nevertheless, I have to stress that this applies only for a certain period—because if we concentrate all our efforts on developing the consumer market, it will sooner or later effect other branches of the economy. Today, though, the consumer market is our principal concern. [end recording]

Nikolay Ryzhkov went on to stress that people's incomes have grown during the first half of this year by 12 percent. Such a growth we have not known previously—the previous best was 3 percent. Productivity has now grown by 3 percent and production of goods by 2.7 percent. This data alone show that there are great discrepancies between the growth of people's income and the quantity of goods on the market, stressed Nikolay Ryzhkov.

[Begin recording] [(Terekhov)] Listening to deputies' speeches as well as to ordinary citizens, it is possible to hear often that citizen's incomes are either not growing or in some categories are being reduced. In which category of citizens have incomes increased so greatly that it makes the average increase 12 percent for the entire country?

[Ryzhkov] I correct myself—of course income of every citizen in the country has not grown by 12 percent, that is not the case. There are some differences in incomes within the country; for example in industry wages have grown during the first half of this year by 9.5 percent and the construction industry by approximately by 5 percent. At the same time, in scientific research and projects as well as construction institutes—especially in building industry institutes—salaries have grown during half a year by 40 percent. This growth was secured by changing to a financial autonomy system. Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, this money is not theirs.

There are even more conspicuous examples. There are many scientific research institutes in which members received last year an annual bonus equal to their salaries for 6 months. And this year this bonus is already equal to 80 percent—and in some cases 90 percent—of their salaries. To justify this kind of income, institutes should have increased their work productivity by at least 50 times. Of course, they did not—they got money thanks to the growth of prices. Big money is also received in some cooperatives.

At the same time, though, there are people whose income is on the border line of poverty, R75. Naturally, such a situation is not normal. A new system of taxation will help us correct it. [end recording]

Lukyanov Assesses Supreme Soviet Results

LD0708005289 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 6 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A recess has been announced in the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet. A central television correspondent talks to Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, about the results of the first session.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Anatoliy Ivanovich, do you feel that you are on vacation?

[Lukyanov] I think that "vacation" is a fairly relative notion. This is a short break in the work of the Supreme Soviet. And the most important thing is that the work of commissions is still going to continue now—the committees are going to carry on with their work. As soon as the session ended we met, literally within the hour, with the chairmen of the committees and commissions. They arranged that first they would single out the people who

would remain in Moscow during the vacation—the so-called vacation—and carry on with the work. That is point one—that is, the work of the commissions goes on.

The majority of the deputies are going home and first of all they are going to meet their constituents. The work goes on. And on top of that, they are going to continue their work on a whole number of bills which are now being prepared. So vacation is a relative notion. [laughs]

[Reporter, laughing] It is relative all right. You recall, of course, all these appraisals that were made of the Supreme Soviet during its election at the congress. It was Stalinist-Brezhnevite; it was incompetent; it was a play thing in the hands of the apparatus. And now the first session is over. Are you satisfied with its work?

[Lukyanov] Well, I think the significance of this session, its political significance, was defined by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his closing speech. Its significance indeed was truly great. But, if we are to speak frankly, I would name three main features. The first one is that above all the session of the Supreme Soviet became a direct, immediate continuation of what the congress was doing, of its directives. I would like to note that the first and most important document to be adopted—and it was debated very energetically—was a document on organizing the work for carrying out the decisions of the congress. And it was not just simply on carrying them out, but the deputies thought through which commission was going to be given which sector, which bill. That was how the first two decisions of exceptional importance of continuing the work of the congress appeared.

The second point—and this, too, is of exceptional importance: It had been said that the congress would meet, elect the Supreme Soviet, and that would end its functions, so to speak, while the Supreme Soviet would go on by itself, as an autonomous unit. None of this has been borne out. In practice, the Supreme Soviet has been working with the constant participation of people's deputies who are not elected members of the Supreme Soviet.

And the third thing: We have continued the very same tradition of glasnost which we had at the congress. Probably not many people know that the way it turned out was that the congress produced 95 hours of air time, while the [Supreme Soviet] session had a considerably more than 100 hours in its 50 sittings. All this took place before the people's eyes. [video shows Lukyanov and reporter, apparently accompanied by a colleague, around a table in a study]

Supreme Soviet Commission Chairman Interviewed
18280160 Moscow TRUD in Russian
26 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with Professor N. Gritsenko, rector of the N.M. Shvern timer Higher School of Trade Union Movement of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, chairman of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy, doctor of economic sciences, by TRUD correspondent Ye. Pestruk hina: "Equality Rather Than Wage Leveling"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] What did the USSR people's deputies talk about most often at their first congress? Undoubtedly, about social issues. "The Direct Line" of TRUD, this barometer of sorts of public opinion during the congress, showed that people were hoping and waiting that the deputies would find ways for a more radical "treatment" of the "ills" accumulated in our society. After all, lots of promises and "prescriptions" had been issued in the course of the election campaign.

What do the people's deputies intend to do in order to pay for the "IOUs" issued to the voters? This is the topic of a conversation between TRUD correspondent Ye. Pestruk hina with Rector of the N.M. Shvern timer VShPD [Higher School of Trade Union Movement] of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], Chairman of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor N. Gritsenko.

[Pestruk hina] Confirmation of the composition of the Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy, unlike others, proceeded quietly, without the rush of those willing, and without dropping people. Is this due to the lack of popularity of the commission, or are there other reasons?

[Gritsenko] Those willing are seeking admission now, but we do not have vacancies anymore: Forty-one persons have been confirmed. I am satisfied with my colleagues, because competent, vigorous, and principled people have assembled at the commission—representatives of all republics, all strata of society, from workers and kolkhoz [collective farm] members (there are 17 of them) to an academy member, including seven deputies from trade unions. We firmly intend to implement our electoral platform.

With a view to more efficient work, we have split into five subcommissions: for labor, rate of employment and demography, standard of living and social guarantees, problems of price setting, issues of taxation, and setting of social priorities. A sociological group headed by Academician T. Zaslavskaya will conduct public opinion polls, that is, help us gear our legislative proposals to the people.

[Pestruk hina] What has the commission already succeeded in doing?

[Gritsenko] We have discussed six candidacies for government posts. Not all of them have been endorsed. Chairman of the USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems] R. Shcherbakov has offered an interesting program of curing the social sphere, which, incidentally, is similar on many points to our trade union platform. He intends to fight the residual principle of financing social development. At the same time, he has outlined ideas on ways to generate additional funds for this purpose. He has promised to prepare special aid programs for single senior citizens and social rehabilitation of the

handicapped. He intends to develop a mechanism for the dynamic pegging of wages and retirement benefits to the growth of prices. I will note that the deputies made many remarks to candidates for government positions even when they were endorsed....

[Pestrukhina] ...remarks which the candidates may just ignore. Don't you think, Nikolay Nikolayevich, that many deputies have not yet entirely appreciated their powers, and appear more often in the role of petitioners rather than legislators? Why do a hundred deputies from the trade unions approach the government with "instructions" (in essence, a petition) instead of trying to translate their proposals into a law compliance with which is mandatory?

[Gritsenko] You are not entirely right. Instructions are a quite imperative form of addressing the government. In putting questions to the candidates, we, first, determined for ourselves whether to support them or not, and, second, strove to secure guarantees of the implementation of social reforms. Thus, responding to my question on how social policy is going to be planned, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] Chairman Yu. Maslyukov stated that a system of indexes is now being developed—of the standard of living, purchasing power of the ruble, and so forth, which will help to gear the 13th 5-year plan to the real growth of well-being of the people. In the process, planned indicators will be corrected in line with inflation and other real circumstances. Every ministry will have specific programs for producing consumer goods, providing housing, day care centers, and rest facilities for the employees of the industry, and so forth.

The deputies will monitor the fulfillment of their promises by members of the government, and can give them the vote of no confidence in the extreme case.

Of course, all those elected by the people, including trade union deputies, have to learn parliamentary procedures. We get accustomed to them "in the process." With a view to improving the standard of living of veterans, trade union deputies at the congress proposed to move up the all-people's discussion and adoption of the new Law on Retirement Benefits, so as to begin its implementation in stages as early as next year. We will insist that its draft be considered in the first reading as early as the next fall session.

[Pestrukhina] Which draft laws from among those on the agenda of the current session of the Supreme Soviet will be reviewed by your commission?

[Gritsenko] We have already considered and rejected the Quality Law. In the opinion of deputies, it looks more like fuzzy instructions, and, most importantly, does not guarantee the protection of the rights of consumers. We plan to work on the draft Law on Taxes. We have established close contacts with other commissions—for

the affairs of women, veterans, and the handicapped, the young people because we have become convinced that we will have to solve many social problems together.

[Pestrukhina] There are a good many social ills. Where does the commission want to begin its activities in law creation?

[Gritsenko] Our subcommissions are developing their work plans. They are based, firstly, on the resolutions of the Congress of People's Deputies and proposals submitted by the government. We will consider the initiatives submitted by deputies to the congress (they have been registered, generalized, and collected in a special brochure).

Members of the commission have their own suggestions. Besides, dozens of letters arrive daily with interesting novelties not only from our fellow countrymen but also from abroad. Finally, in store for us is the evaluation of draft laws and proposals prepared by the government, the AUCCTU, and other social organizations. There are laws on the protection of labor and on leaves among them.

[Pestrukhina] As you see it, what is problem No 1?

[Gritsenko] To eliminate poverty. More than 40 million of our fellow citizens live below the subsistence level—this is a misfortune and shame for a socialist country. Charity and humanity demand that we help these people immediately, even if we have to abandon some other social programs. As is known, the congress resolved to raise the retirement benefits of all citizens to the subsistence level beginning next year and obligated the government to come up with the funds within 3 months. There are sources: conversion of military production, mothballing of unneeded construction sites and "projects of the century," implementation of the cost-control mechanism of economic operations, struggle with mismanagement, reductions in hard-currency purchases of grain abroad by giving hard-currency incentives to domestic grain producers, redistribution of items in the budget....

[Pestrukhina] However, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Academician L. Abalkin has clearly expressed his position at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet: Given the current budget deficit, the funds freed up should not be redistributed but rather withdrawn from circulation and destroyed in order to cure finances, because world practice knows only two ways of reducing the internal debt: Either spend less from the budget or collect more taxes.

[Gritsenko] I am also convinced that at present the main point for both the legislators and the government is not as much to engage in carving our, alas, slender common "pie" (though this also needs to be done) as it is to find an efficient system giving incentives for increased "baking." As I see it, the way out is found in creating social and economic conditions for free, creative, and efficient labor. We should eliminate wage leveling, and give the people an opportunity to earn benefits rather

than receive them through allocation. Then, on the one hand, proceeds of the treasury will increase (higher incomes—higher income tax), and the volume of goods and services will increase. On the other hand, the number of those acutely needing social assistance will decline. Trade union deputies are securing the reform of labor legislation.

[Pestrukhina] However, can mandatory labor be fully efficient? Is this not the time to reconsider the double-pronged constitutional wording which, as some prominent economists believe, is an impediment to the development of productive forces, and to make labor just a right, and not the duty of citizens, naturally, providing for everyone a real opportunity to work?

[Gritsenko] When I referred to "free labor" I meant such conditions under which a person can do his best at work without fearing that the rate-setter will cut back his rates, the supervisor will "jack up" his plan, and the trade union organizer will demand increased commitments. I am not a proponent of hasty "yes or no" decisions because we have suffered too much due to ill-conceived decrees. Of course, our constitution needs to be reconsidered; a competent commission has been set up for this purpose. On our part, I and my colleagues will state our considerations concerning changes in the constitution following a relevant profound analysis of social problems. However, let us not forget about the tremendous, irreplaceable educational role of labor, about the socialist principle of justice: "He who does not work does not eat." As the trade union election platform points out, complete employment is an undeniable advantage of socialism and the most important objective of social policy. We should not allow unemployment. Incidentally, members of the commission—deputies from Central Asia concerned with this problem showed initiative in developing and adopting the employment law.

[Pestrukhina] What do the members of the commission think about government initiatives such as the setting of a correlation of wages and labor productivity by directive? Or the decree on freezing a number of social programs, including the growth of wages, which in our country account for somewhat more than one-third of the national income, whereas in developed industrial countries up to 70 percent. It is known that these measures have produced intense displeasure in labor collectives. To what degree do they comply with the principles of socialism and our notion of justice? And, most significantly, are they lawful?

[Gritsenko] We intend to consider these issues in the nearest future. The position of trade union deputies is firm: The money earned should be paid; responsibility for mistakes in the management of the economy should not be shifted to the toilers.

Completing our conversation on the reform of labor law, I would like to add that we plan to discuss the draft law on procedures for settling collective labor disputes bringing about strikes—definitely without delay, especially in

view of the current acute and alarming situation. The trade union deputies are inclined to secure that the 40-hour work week is legalized and leaves are extended to 24 days at a minimum.

[Pestrukhina] The commission has happened to get complex and multifaceted issues. How do you intend to arrive at a common decision—by a majority vote or by the method of consensus (choice of the variant most acceptable for all), which is not customary for us but is widespread abroad? Incidentally, has the division into the "majority" and "minority" emerged in the commission just as it did at the congress?

[Gritsenko] I believe that such divisions are artificial. It is quite natural that people with different views, traditions, experience in life, and knowledge of information receive the facts differently and at times arrive at the opposite conclusions. Indeed, discussions and arguments have already flared up in the commission many times and it is beautiful! Let us recall the ancient maxim: If you want to improve yourself find an opponent. We try to take into account the opinion of all in working out the position of the commission on individual issues.

[Pestrukhina] The Moscow group of deputies has set a rigid condition for all those who ran for the Supreme Soviet on its ticket (you are one of them): Their parliamentary work should become their main activity. When do you intend to give up managing the VShPD?

[Gritsenko] The VShPD learned council has agreed to delegate me to the disposal of the Supreme Soviet for the period of my work as commission chairman, entrusting my responsibilities to the vice rector. I remain the chairman of the learned council, and am registered as a party and trade union member in the primary organizations of the VShPD. Understandably, when I find a spare hour, before or after the meetings, I come to my native collective where work is always found, and do it voluntarily. However, the work of a deputy is at present my main one.

Work of Supreme Soviet Session Summarized *LD0408170389 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The first session of the Soviet Parliament elected in late May this year at the First Congress of People's Deputies finished its work today.

A total of 542 deputies spent 40 days discussing the vital problems of the country's internal life. They can feel some satisfaction with the results of their work, as can millions of other voters who followed the session daily on television.

The session marked the beginning of the work of the permanent supreme body of state power, which Soviet people believe will promote the creation of law-governed state and give guarantees of perestroika's irreversibility.

The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet was important not only because it cleared the way for deepening perestroika by passing a number of laws and resolutions but also because it gave Soviet society the first taste of real parliamentary activity. New relations started to shape up between the legislative and executive branches, with the latter being put under the strict control of the former.

The first session showed that the pluralism of opinions does not hinder the unity of deputies' actions aimed at promoting the interests of people. All this prompted Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to say in the final statement today that a strong, effective parliament is shaping up in the country.

Discussions at the Parliament also showed that the Supreme Soviet has many talented people of principle, capable of tackling complex problems. This was largely due to the outcome of elections which were held for the first time on a democratic and, as a rule, multi-candidate basis.

The second session will open in late September.

CPSU Approves Resolution on Party Press

LD0508142489 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 5 TASS—The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party adopted the resolution "On Some Questions of Restructuring Party Press".

Mass media has an active role to play in the policy to renew Soviet society pursued by the CPSU, the resolution says. At the same time, the lessons of social development after April 1985 show that mass media itself needs to be updated and restructured. Its activity sometimes falls behind the demands of life and does not measure up with the tasks advanced by the party. Some press organs have a lopsided idea of their role in carrying through political and economic reforms, limiting themselves to criticism of some or other shortcomings without concentrating efforts on an in-depth analysis, constructive work and consolidating all forces of society in tackling the burning problems of perestroika.

In accordance with the CPSU line for separating the functions of party and state bodies, the resolution defines measures to update the structure of national party newspapers and magazines. For instance, it was decided to create, on the basis of the newspapers SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and STROITELNAYA GAZETA, the daily newspaper of the CPSU CC [Central Committee] RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA (WORKERS' ROSTRUM) in 1990. EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, a weekly of the CPSU CC, is converted into the mass

weekly of the CPSU CC EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN (ECONOMY AND LIFE) since 1990. The weekly VESTNIK AGROPROMA (HERALD OF THE AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE), a supplement to the newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN, is transformed into the weekly supplement ZEMLYA I LYUDI (LAND AND PEOPLE) since 1990.

To enhance the analytical nature of materials, expand their thematic content and reduce reprinting, the newspapers of the CPSU CC SOVETSKAYA KULTURA (SOVIET CULTURE) and UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA (TEACHER'S NEWSPAPER) will be changed into weeklies in 1990. The supplement ARKHITEKTURA (ARCHITECTURE) published by STROITELNAYA GAZETA is transferred to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA which will also publish a new weekly supplement, EKRAN AND STSENA (SCREEN AND STAGE), specialising on covering theatre and cinema life.

The resolution provides for making the content of party journals more relevant, raising their theoretical and professional level, and turning these publications into mass periodicals addressed to the broadest readership. It was decided to create since 1990 a socio-political journal of the CPSU CC, DIALOG (DIALOGUE), by simultaneously halting the publication of the journals AGITATOR (AGITATOR) and POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE (POLITICAL EDUCATION).

More Reported on Restructuring Party Press

PM0508185189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution "On Certain Questions of the Restructuring of the Central Party Press."

In the CPSU's course of renewing Soviet society, the resolution notes, an active role is played by the mass media. Asserting glasnost, openness, and truthfulness in all spheres of socioeconomic and political life, and developing criticism and self-criticism, the media are helping the party and the entire people to objectively interpret the past and the present and to reveal and eradicate the causes of stagnation and slowdown, encouraging people to work creatively, and molding an active civic stance. At the same time, the lessons of social development since April 1985 show that the mass media themselves need to be improved and restructured. Their activity sometimes lags behind the demands of life and does not fully follow the tasks set by the party. Certain press organs sometimes have a one-sided understanding of their role in the implementation of political and economic reform, restricting themselves to revealing certain shortcomings, without focusing their efforts on in-depth analysis, constructive work, and the consolidation of all society's forces in resolving the urgent problems of perestroika.

The decades-old structure of central newspapers and journals is in contradiction with political and economic development, the CPSU Central Committee resolution states. The demarcation of functions between party and state organs advances the need to restructure the work of the party press and raise its effectiveness at the decisive stage of society's development while at the same time restructuring party organizations' activities.

The CPSU Central Committee considers it necessary to channel the efforts of PRAVDA, central party newspapers and journals, and the entire party press toward the fuller utilization of the press in implementing the course mapped out by the April (1985) and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the 27th Party Congress and enshrined at the 19th all-union party conference. The party press is called upon to more actively promote the enhancement of the theoretical arsenal and practical experience of perestroika, the rebirth of the Leninist concept of the party as society's political vanguard, and the elaboration of the most important questions of the country's development, the ideology of renewal, organizational work among the masses, cadre policy, the CPSU's international activity, and the democratization of the life of the party and all Soviet society.

In accordance with the CPSU's line of demarcating the functions of party and state organs and of freeing the party press from narrow departmental and technocratic approaches, the CPSU Central Committee resolution defines measures to improve the structure of central party newspapers and journals. It is planned to create as of 1990 a CPSU Central Committee daily entitled RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA on the basis of the newspapers SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and STROITELNAYA GAZETA. The new publication is to extensively cover the life of the working class, comprehensively reveal its decisive role in modern Soviet society and in the running of state affairs, reflect the position of the working people's masses on the most important problems of sociopolitical and socioeconomic development, and actively promote the consolidation of the USSR's peoples in the struggle for perestroika. The CPSU Central Committee weekly EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA will be reorganized as of 1990 into a CPSU Central Committee mass-circulation weekly entitled EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN. Its task will be to cover in an extensive and popular fashion questions of the socioeconomic policy of the party and the Soviet state, the theoretical and practical problems of the radical economic reform, and specific experience of restructuring social production relations, and to demonstrate the real links between socioeconomic transformations on the one hand and people's interests, needs, and the everyday life of all strata and social groups in society on the other. The weekly VESTNIK AGROPROMA—a supplement to SELSKAYA ZHIZN—will be reorganized as of 1990 into the weekly supplement ZEMLYA I LYUDI, which is to comprehensively and profoundly demonstrate the restructuring of socioeconomic relations in the countryside through various forms of ownership and help party organizations to

create in labor collectives a favorable atmosphere for assimilating the achievements of agricultural science and practice and implementing the retooling of the processing industry.

In order to enhance the analytical nature of items, to cut down on duplication of information, and to expand the thematic content of publications the CPSU Central Committee newspapers SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA will become weeklies as of 1990. The supplement ARKHITEKTURA published by STROITELNAYA GAZETA will be transferred to SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, which will also publish a new weekly supplement entitled EKRAN I STSENA specializing in theater and cinema coverage.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution envisages enhancing the theoretical and professional standard of party journals, bringing their content up to date, and transforming these publications into mass periodicals aimed at the widest range of readers. The editorial office at the journal KOMMUNIST is called upon to more consistently implement the publication's main functions as a theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee, more actively promoting the development of the theory and practice of socialist renewal and the restructuring of Soviet society, employing extensive readers' discussions and effective journalistic means to that end. The work of the journal PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN is to be restructured. Its content should be determined by questions of the renewal of the party's activity and the democratization of intraparty relations, the problems of the social leadership of the CPSU, and its role as society's political and intellectual vanguard. The journal's main task is to promote the formation of a new kind of party worker geared to the assimilation of political forms and methods of work stemming from the fundamentally new political situation in the country.

It has been decided as of 1990 to set up a CPSU Central Committee sociopolitical journal entitled DIALOG, simultaneously ending the publication of the CPSU Central Committee journals AGITATOR and POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE. The task of DIALOG is to cover the diversity of forms of the country's political life, to actively mold a constructive attitude to perestroika by presenting various points of view, to help to renew ideological work, freeing it from routine, windbagery, and cliché, to improve oral political propaganda, agitation work, and party studies, and to conduct frank discussions with people on all the questions that interest them with regard to domestic and foreign political life, the development of science, education, culture, literature, and art, and the training and education of young people.

The CPSU Central Committee instructs the central committees of union republic communist parties, kray party committees [kraykoms], and oblast party committees [obkoms] to review the structure of their publications and bring this structure into line with the demands

of this resolution by 1990, reorganizing, if necessary, sectorial press organs funded out of the party budget, and to take measures to improve their contents and to reduce losses.

The central committees of union republic communist parties, kraykoms, obkoms, Moscow CPSU City Committee [Gorkom], and Kiev Ukrainian Communist Party Gorkom have been given the right together with union republic state committees for the press and their local organs to independently resolve the questions of starting, closing, or renaming rayon, city, association, okrug, evening city, oblast, kray, and republic newspapers and journals, as well as advertising-information periodicals within the limits of the paper stocks allocated for these purposes to the republics, krays, and oblasts, and on condition that any new publication be profitable. Decisions about starting and closing oblast, kray, and republic newspapers and journals that are organs of party committees or are funded out of the party budget will only take effect after ratification by the CPSU Central Committee.

Questions linked with starting and closing central newspapers and journals—publications of state and social organs—including sociopolitical, literary, artistic, sectorial, scientific, scientific and technical, and advertising-information periodicals, and with changing their size and frequency of publication or editorial offices' wages and royalties funds will henceforth be examined at the USSR State Committee for the Press. With the adoption of the law on the press and other mass media the formation and closure of all newspapers and journals will be regulated by law following the procedure laid down by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Kryuchkov Discusses Reform in State Security

LD0508150689 Moscow International Service
in Slovak 1700 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Summary] A NOVOYE VREMYA correspondent interviewed Vladimir Kryuchkov, who was recently approved by the Supreme Soviet as chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security. Among other things, he said: "Restructuring has also influenced us: Law, truth and glasnost are the principal guidelines of our restructuring processes. There is a need for society to know what we are doing and understand it. This task cannot be easily tackled because of the specific and conspirative character of our office. On the other hand, our citizens know about security forces, but not all that they have to know.

"We have detailed but only fragmented information on our difficult past. We must find out for ourselves what is not true, and to inform society well enough to make it help us, trust us, and influence our work in a constructive manner. To control us but at the same time to support us.

"There are some obvious structural changes, Vladimir Kryuchkov continued, "for instance, we have disbanded the Fifth Department, which fought against ideological

diversion. A principally new department for protecting constitutional rights is being formed. In the past, anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda were considered crimes with no strictly drawn bounds. It is now different. For one thing, if a person calls for the overthrow of the state and social order, or attempts to change the existing system by force, as [words indistinct] contrary to the law and Constitution. But the law does not now prevent expressing a stance regarding Soviet power, no matter how negative.

"The number of cases of organized crime has increased greatly. To fight it in today's range is a new task of the Committee for State Security, though the main role in this is still played by the Ministry of Interior.

"The Committee for State Security uses certain methods in its work. As far as monitoring phone calls is concerned, there are legal norms to regulate it. We would not monitor a phone call without any reason; it never happens. The same thing can be said about personal files on citizens. If a member of the security organs is asked about such things, he would laugh.

"In my view, a war of secret services is already a thing of the past. As far as living together is concerned, we live together—they work there and we work here. Nevertheless, for a peaceful coexistence some regulations are needed, but to be honest we work without regulations; intelligence service is a play without regulations. Even so, I think that one has to be honest in every kind of work, including ours."

Answering a question about possibilities of cooperation in the spheres of fighting terrorism and the trafficking of narcotics, Vladimir Kryuchkov said: "All of us must realize that cooperation is in our interest. We have reached agreement on individual questions and we also do our best to meet the other side half-way. A recent example of cooperation was the rescue of Soviet pupils who were taken hostage by terrorists in order to get a plane and fly to Israel."

Ryzhkov Comments on Outcome of Talks With Miners

LD0508034889 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 4 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Another piece of important news: Late yesterday [3 August] evening a USSR Council of Ministers decision was signed on the outcome of the talks held between a commission from the center and the miners.

[Begin Nikolay Ryzhkov recording] We believe we have honestly carried through everything that we promised the miners. I can state that quite categorically. Again, we have systematized everything that we promised. You

understand, there are many areas, and so in some places the demands were reiterated, while in other places there were certain deviations. We had to find an overall settlement.

I believe that, yes of course, it is a hard document for the country—that I want to state frankly. It is not a simple one, and it will require the financial and material resources in our country to be mobilized. But since this has happened, these demands must be met as they say.

The one thing that we must all understand is that if we all go down this path, then the country could find itself in a most difficult situation. A most difficult situation. [end recording]

[Correspondent Orlov] Yes, other ways of resolving acute social problems are needed. They have been sought and will be sought by the deputies, both locally at home when they return in the next few days, and at the autumn session of the Supreme Soviet, which opens on 25 September. [video shows Ryzhkov being interviewed]

Miners Criticized for 2-Hour 'Warning' Strike
LD0408202589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1700 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] The collectives of 17 Kuzbass coal enterprises held a 2-hour warning strike on 3 August. The oblast strike committee sanctioned it, its decision prompted by the alleged nonfulfillment of the government's order on the temporary end to construction and the suspension of the Krapivinskiy hydrosystem on the Tom River.

Commenting on the events, Comrade Lyutenko, chairman of the Kemerovo oblast executive committee, stated: At the session of the oblast soviet on 2 August, it was decided that on the following day all work at the hydrosystem and in the cup of the reservoir would stop. A group of leading officials of oblast organizations was sent there, and they, along with the local authorities and the leaders of construction organizations, were to determine how much work is necessary to suspend work at the installation. It should be noted that some officials in charge of building the hydrosystem had not implemented the earlier decisions of the oblast executive committee about stopping work, that they gave false information and thereby deceived people. Nevertheless, there was no need to declare a strike, even a warning strike. Moreover, the strike committee knew of the decision of the oblast soviet, with which many of the city strike committees agreed.

Comrade Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, continues this conversation. On 18 July, he said, I signed an order to suspend work at that construction site. However, it is difficult to do this immediately. Here a large collective works. Housing is being built. It is necessary to transfer people and to suspend work. Suddenly the question is raised: The order is not being carried out, let us strike. That is not serious. After all,

some 10 days after the government's order, it was demanded that work be stopped. I think that we should first look into things—who is working there, what is he doing—and not make rash decisions.

Asked how the miners' demands are being met, comrade Ryzhkov said: Over the 10 days, work continued on a USSR Council of Ministers draft decision. About 50 miners came to the capital to participate in the work and make their proposals and amendments. On 3 August I signed the final document and the next day Minister Shchadov brought it to the notice of the miners' representatives who are in Moscow. We believe that we have honorably fulfilled all that we promised the miners. However, the document which was approved will require mobilization of both financial and material resources. Therefore, it is necessary to understand that if others take the same path as the miners the country may end up in a very serious situation. It will affect the living conditions of the workers. Today we have decided the questions with the miners. However, other workers also have such problems. There are many problems for the metallurgical workers, chemical workers, railway workers, and in agriculture. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt well-balanced decisions. But, most importantly, we must improve the work of the national economy and increase its efficiency. Only in this way can we accomplish the tasks facing society. If we proceed by means of strikes, they will benefit nobody; low-paid categories of workers will suffer first and most.

And here is the opinion about the warning strike in the Kuzbass of Comrade Nevolin, USSR people's deputy from Novokuznetsk, an opinion which he expressed to TASS correspondents during the USSR Supreme Soviet: Being in Moscow, he stated, I received certain information about the events; I believe that the warning strike was unjustified. After all, the session of the oblast Soviet of people's deputies had adopted the corresponding measures for settling the conflict. Why then abandon work? It was necessary to vigorously get down to implementing this decision, and I think that all the opportunities exist for this both in the workers committees and in the bodies of Soviet power. One more thing: A draft law on strikes is being developed. Many provisions there are controversial, including those about the legality of strikes. It is my belief, the people's deputy noted, that they are right when they are directed against the bureaucracy which is putting the brakes on the restructuring process. In such a case, they help to further the cause.

Ryzhkov Says Strikers' Demands 'Fulfilled'
LD0408174389 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—The most important task now is to enhance the efficiency of the national economy—only in this way we can solve problems facing Soviet society. Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov said in a TASS interview.

He commented on fulfilment of miners' demands, set forth during recent strikes and on a two-hour warning strike held by workers of 17 coal mines in the Kuznetsk basin on August 3.

The strike was called by a regional strike committee which claimed that the government's instruction to suspend construction of the Krapivinsky hydropower project on the river Tom and "freeze" it was not being implemented.

"If we follow the road of strikes, no one will benefit from it, and low-paid sections of the population will be hit the first," Ryzhkov said.

By way of example, he said that more than two billion roubles will be spent to meet miners' needs alone.

The prime minister said that strict control had been established over implementation of those provisions of the Council of Ministers' resolution on meeting miners' demands that concern the government.

A number of issues have been submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet as they belong to its competence.

"We think that we have honestly fulfilled our promises to miners," Ryzhkov said. "However, the resolution requires mobilising financial and material resources. This is why one should understand that if others follow miners' example, the country may find itself in a most difficult situation."

Further Reported on Kemerovo Miners Strike

Miners Cite Hydrosystem

PM0408103389 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Aug 89 p 2

[Own correspondent A. Parshintsev report: "Seeking Points of Contact"]

[Text] Kemerovo—"We approve of the session's decision to stop the construction of the Krapivinskiy hydrosystem from tomorrow. But we have lost our faith in promises and hereby announce a 2-hour warning strike by the miners."

These words were spoken late in the evening on 2 August from the rostrum of the Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Executive Committee (Oblispolkom) by members of the council of Kuzbass worker committees.

Deputies felt as if they had had a tub of cold water poured over their heads. They had been hoping to conclude the session with a consolidation of forces and finally making peace with the leaders of the miners strike that flared up in July. Consolidation had been helped by the subject raised for discussion by deputies: The subject of implementing the measures agreed between the regional strike committee and the commission of the

CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), and also by a long, generally productive discussion on ways and methods of working together. But it had misfired. The stumbling block on this occasion was one of the points in the joint protocol.

The point in question is a dam on the main water artery of the Kuzbass—the River Tom. The question of terminating its construction was raised in trenchant terms by the inhabitants long ago. The fact is that it is planned to seal off the waterway this year, but things are going badly with the construction of purification units in cities in the upper reaches, which means that there is a threat of millions of cubic metres of effluent flowing into the reservoir instead of clean water. The alarmed public has demanded that the project be thoroughly investigated by ecology experts and construction work stopped until an objective scientific study is received.

The oblast party committee (obkom) and the oblispolkom supported this demand, albeit after a long delay. They appealed to the USSR Council of Ministers with a request to suspend the dam project and redeploy the material and labor resources from this project to housing and sociocultural projects. While the wheels of the complex departmental mechanism were turning in the upper echelons, at the end of May the Kemerovo Oblispolkom instructed the leaders of the construction project to stop felling timber in the reservoir bed and employ the hydraulic engineers elsewhere. The public began to breathe more easily. Finally, the oblispolkom made a decisive move and stopped the ignominious construction project—the brainchild of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, which has eaten up millions of rubles belonging to the people.

Members of the council of Kuzbass worker committees who came to the oblast soviet session demanded that a commission be set up and immediately sent to the dam site in order to see for itself how the oblispolkom decisions and one of the points in the joint protocol were being put into practice. The commission was led by V. Romanov, USSR people's deputy. It returned late in the evening towards the end of the session. It brought alarming news: Construction work was going ahead as before. What is more, in a last ditch attempt to "grab" land and, consequently, considerable sums of money, the builders have treated nature barbarously, burning commercial timber and burying it in trenches. The land, floodplain lakes, and oxbow lakes have been ruined over hundreds of hectares. The hydraulic engineers are brazenly going ahead with the job which, in the opinion of the local authorities, had supposedly been stopped by popular vote. G. Redozubov, director of the Krapivinskiy hydrosystem project, and L. Cherentsov, head of the construction administration, had not thought to heed the voice of reason and had ignored the oblispolkom decision.

The session participants voted unanimously in favor of stopping work on the dam and in the reservoir bed from

0800 on 3 August and demanded that strong charges be brought against those guilty of disobeying Soviet authority and barbarously destroying natural resources.

While supporting the deputies' stand, members of the council of Kuzbass worker committees would not be swayed from their belief, however, that the oblsipolkom is not active or decisive enough in monitoring compliance with its own instructions, which has resulted in the depredation of nature in the region of the hydrosystem. Hence the council announcement that there would be a 2-hour warning strike on the morning of the same day. Deputies' numerous appeals to the committee members to be reasonable left them unmoved. So, yesterday morning miners at some mines in Prokopyevsk, Novokuznetsk, Leninsk-Kuznetskiy, and Osinniki curtailed their shift by 2 hours. They did not all support the council appeal—the majority of coal mining enterprises began the morning shift on time.

At a press conference on 3 August, A. Lyutenko, chairman of the Kemerovo oblsipolkom, said that work on the hydrosystem had been stopped and that a list of urgent measures had been drawn up to suspend the dam project. He expressed his categorical disagreement with the decision by the council of worker committees to strike, stressing that there was no need for this. After all, the oblast soviet session had assumed full responsibility for the situation at the dam. The committee members had expressed their lack of faith in deputies by their actions.

A complex situation has developed in the Kuzbass since the July strike. Essentially there is now dual power. It is hard at present to say how this will develop. Some are calling for early reelections to local soviets of people's deputies. There is not total unanimity in the committee ranks. Some of them have agreed to compromise while others are trying to avoid joining the official commissions set up to implement the points in the joint protocol. Many are adhering to the position of control "from below." This situation is harming the main issue—the stabilization of the economy. There appears to be only one way out: The official authorities and the authorities born of the strike must dampen down the excessive emotion, continuously seek points of contact for the sake of the kray's common interests, and build collaboration and creative contacts.

'Many' Managers Fired in Kemerovo

LD0508203189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 5 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report from Kemerovo by correspondent Andrey Konstantinov]

[Excerpt] Following a 2-hour warning strike [by miners], the Kemerovo oblast party committee bureau took very serious measures in relation to the irresponsible economic managers who failed to halt the building of the Krapivinskoye Hydrocomplex. In particular, many of them have been dismissed. The actual construction has

now been stopped. The same bureau also made the no less important decision to hand over the premises of the party bodies for use in response to urgent social needs. In particular, this building of the Kemerovo city party committee will be handed over to the town, while the apparat itself will move to the oblast party committee building. A polyclinic with a hospital block and pathology rooms equipped with the latest technology and much else will also cease to be reserved for official use. It will serve not a narrow circle of senior personages, but the whole population. Another building: a workshop. Formerly, it was marked simply as an unknown mansion. Now, this workshop—Novinka—will, we hope, start making suits, dresses, and coats for the ordinary residents of Kemerovo and its oblast, though up to now it has exclusively gratified the [word indistinct] of highly placed customers and their wives.

A special subject of conversation in the oblast is the dacha complex near the village of Mazerovo. Here, everything flattered the eye and spirit of the select few: a specially constructed pond, comfortable rooms, a fine park, and naturally 24-hour security. [passage omitted] [video shows city party committee building, clinic, workshop, dachas]

Coal Miners Strike in Vorkuta; Situation 'Tense'

Reasons for Strike Outlined

AU0508131689 Paris AFP in English 1318 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, Aug 5 (AFP)—Soviet coalminers in Vorkuta, in the Arctic circle, went on strike again Saturday morning following failure by the government to meet their demands, the town's coal administration told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Saturday's strike affected 11 of the region's 13 mines, a coal-mining official said in a telephone interview.

"The situation is tense," the official added.

Miners from the far northern Siberian coalfield had given the government until August 3 to satisfy demands made during the national coal stoppage in the second half of July, informed sources at Radio Moscow said.

Saturday's stoppage was called by the regional strike committee when the government failed to come up with new proposals after expiration of the deadline, sources added.

Miners from a number of Soviet regions had met in Moscow last week with Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov and had held talks with a special government commission to discuss their grievances.

According to miners who attended the talks, the government commission offered to sign a protocol of accord for settling the dispute which fell short of demands made during the strike.

The strike committee representatives refused to sign the document and returned to their regions to report on the state of negotiations, according to delegates from Donetsk, in the Ukraine.

Demands made by the miners related to better working and living conditions. In addition to better pay for shift work and greater access to consumer goods, such as soap, the strikers called for greater autonomy and financial incentives for their mines.

Last Thursday [3 August], a number of miners from Kemerovo district in the Kuzbass basin of Siberia staged a two-hour "warning strike" to protest the failure by local authorities to honour a commitment to stop work on a local dam.

Workers Meetings Held

LD0508062989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0600 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] We have received an alarming report from Vorkuta. All mines of the Vorkutaugol association stopped work at midnight. The extraction and shipping of coal has been halted. The time for giving a reply to the strikers' demands expired on 3 August. At a townwide conference which took place on the same evening, it was decided to continue the prestrike period until midnight on 4 August.

No government document on the demands of the strikers was presented at the conference, held on the evening of 4 August. Very likely it was this delay on the one hand and also the impatience of the masses on the other which has led to the halting of the coal enterprises in Vorkuta.

Workers meetings are being held this morning at the town's mines and the situation which has arisen is being discussed. The strike committee has decided to halt all sales of alcohol in the town. Volunteer workers patrols are maintaining public order.

Our correspondent adds that the losses from the last strike which took place from 20 to 26 July amounted to almost R12 million.

Strike Developments Reported

PM0508171589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent Viktor Filippov report under the "Direct Link" rubric: "Striking Again?"]

[Text] Viktor Filippov informed the editorial office about the situation in Vorkuta.

A 3 August session of the city workers' committee (as the strike committee is now called) examined three questions:

1. On the creation of a regional strike committee in the Pechora Coalfield. This committee would coordinate the actions of miners in the entire Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Three people from Vorkuta were elected to it.

2. On releasing 17 of the 45 members of the city workers' committee from their work at the mines in order to carry out their social duties. The workers' committee is becoming an increasingly influential force in the city and has already largely supplanted official organs of power. For instance, the strike committee has brought order to the trading system—it has cleaned up all the storage rooms and stock rooms at stores. Products and goods which people have not seen for years have appeared in Vorkuta's stores.

3. Whether or not to call a strike from midnight 4 August. As I have already reported, the strike in Vorkuta was suspended for 8 days—through 3 August. If in this time the miners' demands had not been met the strike committee reserved the right to resume the strike. Representatives of strike committees from the "Severnaya," "Yuzhnaya," and "Yun-Yaga" Mines called for a strike. The strike committees at the "Tsentrlnaya," "Komsomolskaya," and "Zapolyarnaya" Mines advocated the complete cessation of all strikes altogether. Representatives from the "Vorkutaugol" Association's other mines advocated extending the period of being ready to strike for another day—until midnight on 5 August. The point being that representatives of the city strike committee had reported from Moscow that N.I. Ryzhkov would sign a Council of Ministers resolution on the coalfields 4 August. The strike committee session decided that if the resolution were signed they would not strike, but if it were not signed they would call a strike from 0000 hours 5 August.

Tomorrow we will report developments in the situation.

On the night of 4-5 August all 13 of the "Vorkutaugol" Association's mines stopped work again.

On the morning of 5 August I. Voronov, member of the workers' (strike) committee and a machine operator at the "Tsentrlnaya" Mine, told me:

"We stopped work from midnight. Only one of all our demands has been fulfilled, and then only partially. Yesterday we received the USSR Council of Ministers and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions resolution on the introduction as of 1 August of a single scale of regional coefficient for the wages of workers and employees. It has been set at 1.6 for Vorkuta, although we had demanded 1.8. We know nothing about what happened to the rest of our demands. S. Allakhverdiyev, our representative in Moscow, has told us some strange things: They (our representatives) submitted one version

of the resolution on the regional coefficient to the Council of Ministers, yet a totally different version was signed. And nobody considered it necessary to consult us about the 'cutting' of the coefficient...."

Miners Await Government Decision

LD0508153789 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Syktyvkar August 5 TASS—All mines and other enterprises of the Intaugol Amalgamation are operating today. A city rally of miners on the eve took a decision not to resume the strike. The city workers' (strike) committee continues activities, striving for fulfilment of miners' demands concerning local authorities. The committee also intends to control, on a voluntary basis, the implementation of the Soviet Government's decision on the coal industry.

However, only two mines are operating in Vorkuta today: They supply adequate quantities of fuel for the municipal economy. Some 18,000 tonnes of coal less than provided for by the quota were produced during the past 24 hours, mostly during the night shift. A conference of work collectives of miners and the city workers' committee was held on Friday evening, which decided to resume the strike by a majority vote.

Miners know about documents adopted by the government concerning miners' demands, above all the decision by the USSR Council of Ministers. Vorkuta miners were informed of this on Friday by telephone by their representatives from Moscow and by the USSR minister of the coal industry. However, the strike was resumed because the miners did not have the text of the decision and exact information about its content.

TASS learnt that the documents will be brought to Vorkuta this evening. The sale of strong beverages was stopped in the city and mining communities. Workers teams maintain law and order.

Miners Call Off Strike

LD0508181989 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Vorkuta (Northern Russia) August 5 TASS—All but two pits supplying necessary fuel for the municipal economy of the north Russian city of Vorkuta to ensure its life-support were stopped today.

A conference of the miners' work collectives and the Vorkuta Workers' Committee held yesterday evening decided by majority that the miners should go back on strike.

The miners were aware that documents on miners' demands, especially a resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers, had been passed by the Soviet Government. They learnt about them by phone from their representatives in Moscow and the Soviet Coal Minister on Friday

[4 August]. However, the strike ~~was~~ resumed because the miners did not have the resolution's written text and accurate information on its content.

The texts of the resolution and other government documents were brought to Vorkuta this evening. The miners considered them to be meeting their demands.

The general conference of representatives of mines and other city enterprises has voted unanimously for suspending the strike till January 1, 1990 and resuming work at midnight today.

Youth Daily Discusses Mezhdurechensk Strike

PM1707083989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 89 p 1

[Report by own correspondent Aleksandr Yermakov under the "Regular Daily Spot" rubric: "Problems Surface"]

[Text] Kemerovo Oblast—...I have just called the square or, more accurately, the rostrum where the telephone sits. That is how I eventually located Valeriy Chirkov, first secretary of the Mezhdurechensk Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] City Committee.

"There are now around 10,000 people in the square, and yesterday the figure reached 12,000," Valera yelled into the mouthpiece. "And many stayed all night. Not a single underground or open-cut mine or any other other enterprise of the Ministry of the Coal Industry is working—some have been out for 3 days, others already for 4..."

"And what is the situation at the faces, particularly underground? They must not be left unattended."

"Everything is normal. People are on duty there. The strike committee has instructed all directors to ensure the safety and security of work areas..."

That's how it is. For a week now the strike committee (the local press for some reason calls it an action committee) has been in command in the city. The committee is headed by Valeriy Kokorin, mining foreman at the Shevyakov Mine. He is a member of the CPSU and aged 35. All instructions to the directors of city enterprises can be said to issue from him, this ordinary foreman.

The most modern mining machinery has been necessary to work the local deposits. The country's finest specialists have come from all over the country to operate it. Devyatko, Frolov, Gvozdev—the names of these heroes of labor are known the length and breadth of the country. The elite and pride of the working class, its vanguard.

And these people, top-flight specialists, have come to the square today.

I too have had a taste of mining. I have many times admired the courage of miners as they crawl sometimes into the very jaws of the Devil. And there have been tragedies. I was simply staggered recently by one statistic: 10,000 men have lost their lives in the country's mines in the last 9 years! A little less than those lost in Afghanistan during those same years. Last year 152 miners died in the Kuzbass alone.

And if you take, for example, social, cultural, and consumer conditions and the provision of basic necessities and consumer goods, they simply leave something to be desired. There is a shortage of the most essential things.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has repeatedly provided a platform for miners, including Vladimir Gvozdev, who is now a USSR people's deputy. The idea that they should be given autonomy has permeated all their remarks.

They have not been satisfied with half-measures. What kind of financial autonomy is it if almost all the profit from the underground and open-cut mines of a city, and not just Mezhdurechensk, is siphoned off. The 5 mines earned around R29 million in the last half-year. The enterprises were left with... R2.2 million to dispose of. The remaining (not including payments into the state budget) R8.2 million went to the ministry and the "Yuzhkuzbassugol" Association, to which the mines belong, and to the state territorial administration, "Kuzbassugol," to which the association in turn belongs.

But the miners want the mothers of their children to have 3-years' paid leave, they themselves, who spend half their lives underground, want to have longer leave than workers in other sectors (the demand is for 42 days) and want every miner to receive a year's wages as a lump-sum payment when he retires on pension. And they also want money to remain for the construction of housing, kindergartens, and hospitals, the recultivation of damaged land (that is, for the normal life of their descendants), and many other things besides. Surely they have earned all these "privileges" that make up a normal human life, haven't they?

The situation is interesting. Coal, which we sell abroad at world prices, now acts as... convertible currency (and not just coal). You would think there was an inexhaustible reserve for miners' prosperity. But, as we know from the speech Minister M.I. Shchadov delivered at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, all the foreign currency from the sale of coal goes into the state budget. It is worth R1.5-2 billion. Is that also a subsidy? And what does the miner get?

...I had only just finished writing these lines when I received a call from the square in Mezhdurechensk.

"The strikers have just unanimously adopted a message to the USSR Supreme Soviet," I heard Valera Chirkov say through the interference. "It says that delay in the

economic reforms is leading to further deterioration of the population's prosperity and increasing social tension. We demand immediate examination of the question of switching all the country's enterprises over to full economic autonomy and, specifically, the granting to us of rights to entirely dispose of our profit with the sole obligation to pay funds into the state and local budgets in the form of a firm tax. All these rights are to be granted to enterprises with both state and collective farm ownership. We demand the adoption of a Law on Strikes."

I fired several questions at Chirkov.

"What is to be done about the miners' wages during this time?"

"The minister has assured us that everyone will be paid the average piecework rate, and there will be no hunt for people to blame."

"Is public order being assured in the city?"

"Yes, there has not been a single excess. Groups of workers are on duty everywhere and pickets at the entrances to the city are checking to ensure that no liquor is brought in. All second-category enterprises—food stores, hospitals, and bakery combines—are operating."

"What is the biggest and most striking placard on the square?"

"Oh, you can't miss that here. It reads 'Miners, Hold Out to the End!'"

Fulfillment of Karaganda Workers' Demands Examined
LD0508202789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] In conjunction with representatives of the oblast executive committee, the oblast trade union council, the people's control committee, and the workers' committee of the coal basin, the secretariat of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Karaganda Oblast Party Committee [Obkom] has examined the fulfillment of the protocol for agreement between the workers' committee of the Karaganda coal basin and the commission of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. It was noted that 19 of the 47 demands have already been resolved. To be specific, measures have been taken to organize miners' evening and night pay;

Beginning 1 August enterprises in the coal industry will set output norms, fixed pay rates, and maintenance norms independently. The operating regime of mines and opencast mines has been revised. From 1 August, fifteen mines have transferred to having a single day off, Sunday. Funds have been increased for the 2d half of the year to improve food supplies in the oblast. By a decision

of the executive committees of soviets of people's deputies, the activity of trading and purchasing cooperatives and of public catering cooperatives has been banned, and they have been closed. Leaders of the association have begun work to give mines economic independence, to improve the management structure, and to reduce the number of personnel.

Enterprises in the basin have been permitted to sell 600,000 tonnes of coal by direct contract. In recent days however, many mines have been working with disruptions and are behind in their coal extraction and drifting.

Developments in Rail Worker Situation Highlighted

Rail Workers Respond to 'Appeal'

18290242a Moscow GUDOK in Russian 27 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] First responses to the Appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Soviet People are reaching the editorial office by telephone and telegram. The railroad employees, who are now operating under extremely difficult conditions, have received this important document with understanding. They realize that strikes and interethnic conflicts in various regions of the country do not promote the cause, but harm it and slow down perestroika which is implemented on the initiative of the party. They call on all railroad employees to exercise the highest degree of self-control and organization in this difficult time for the motherland, and to maintain strictest discipline, in the absence of which the gigantic hauling conveyor belt of the country cannot operate normally.

Krasny Liman Rail Workers Issue Appeal

18290242b Moscow GUDOK in Russian
27 Jul 89 p 1

["Appeal by the Collective of the Krasny Liman Engine Depot: 'To All Railroad Employees of the Country'"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

Now that perestroika is beginning to pick up steam, a quite difficult situation has developed in the country. We see this clearly not only in the events unfolding in the Donbass in conjunction with the miners' strike, not only in the press, but also in the appeal to us by the minister of railroads and chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Employees of Railroad Transportation and Transport Construction, in which concern for the uninterrupted operation of our industry is clearly seen. We understand clearly that regular operations of the entire national economy and the well-being of the people depend on our attitude toward our responsibilities.

During the alarming days of the Donbass, when in some places individuals with an extremist attitude incited railroad employees to join the strikers, the thought of leaving the cabin of his engine did not cross the mind of a single engineer from Krasny Liman. All of us here

understand our responsibility for the fate of this industrialized area. In essence, it is in our hands. The engine depot accounts for more than one-third of all haulage. There is almost no locomotive run on the Donetsk Railroad where at any given time our engineers are not driving engines.

Soviet railroad workers have a very bright history. They were out in front in the most difficult times for our country, beginning with the "Red Saturday" and later in the years of the Great Patriotic War and the postwar period. Due to the selfless labor of the old guard of transportation employees, the haulage needs of the national economy were met under the most complex circumstances. Our generation now carries on this glorious labor.

Of course, many problems of railroad workers have accumulated. Engine brigades experience great difficulties as well. There is still not enough housing, social, cultural, and service facilities; the regimen of work time and rest is still frequently violated. Programs for solving the problems have been worked out on the Donetsk Mainline, in our depot. We have already embarked on carrying them out.

We are glad that the miners have now returned to the pitfaces. Knowing their diligence and their fighting spirit, we are certain that the haulage of fuel in the Donetsk Basin will increase very soon. The engine brigades are going to meet it fully prepared. We will haul as much as is needed.

We address all toilers of the steel mainlines with a plea to organize the efficient operation of all elements of transportation in this crucial time for our country, rebuff any instigators, show great responsibility, discipline, and orderliness which have always marked the railroad workers. In this manner, we will make a weighty contribution to the cause of perestroika.

On behalf of the workers' meeting of the collective of the operations shop:

[Signed] E. Volkov, depot supervisor on duty; A. Nadiradze, V. Yermenko, engineers; V. Zubenko, V. Perekrestov, assistant engineers

Concessions to Rail Workers Suggested

18290242c Moscow GUDOK in Russian
27 Jul 89 p 1

[Ministry of Railroads circular telegram: "In the Interests of Toilers"]

[Text] The Ministry of Railroads and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Workers of Railroad Transportation and Transport Construction have sent the following telegram to all units of the industry.

An analysis of causes responsible for tension in the work of labor collectives, which brings about strikes in a number of cases, shows that along with major problems which are hard to solve within a short period of time, such as housing construction and reconstruction of production facilities, many issues exist which can be directly resolved at the local level, frequently without drawing on major financial and material resources. Only the inertness and resourcelessness of the management and trade union organizations may explain the fact that the labor collectives raise the following issues with the Ministry of Railroads and the USSR Government:

- organization of a normal regimen of labor and rest of employees;
- laying pipes for supplying drinking water from city mains to the compounds of depots;
- provision of work clothing for employees, organization of its cleaning and mending;
- carrying out the reconstruction of traction lines;
- cancellation of the on-call system for engine brigades and switching to reporting for duty;
- repairs of roofs and doors in residential buildings, and a number of other similar issues.

Repeated visits to the field by leaders of the Ministry of Railroads and the trade union Central Committee, in particular to the Kuzbass by First Deputy Minister Comrade Fadeyev and to the Donbass by Deputy Minister Comrade Butko, have revealed many issues which could be resolved without difficulty by the managers of line enterprises, divisions, and railroads, and were indeed resolved immediately, but after the above managers had intervened.

The Ministry of Railroads and the trade union Central Committee persistently demand:

All commanders of production and trade union functionaries should resolutely revise existing forms and approaches toward resolving social issues and those of services; they should display initiative and persistence, anticipate events rather than react to them, rallying the toilers for eliminating the causes which impede the implementation of what has been planned. They should render all possible support to all initiatives of the toilers aimed at improving the conditions of work, life, and rest. "A green light" should be given to all resourceful, industrious people who enjoy authority and are capable of organizing the collectives for solving urgent social problems. All available financial resources should be used in solving them.

No unreasonable saving of funds allocated for the improvement of conditions of work and life of the railroad employees, upkeep of housing, and other social facilities should be allowed.

Managers of enterprises and structural units should, with the consent of labor collectives and without any restrictions, channel the monies of the fund for the development of production, science, and technology and material incentives into solving the most acute social problems—construction and repair of housing, daycare centers, clinics, preventive medical facilities, improvements in the supply of foodstuffs to railroad employees, improvements in the level of medical services, reductions in the price of food in canteens and cafeterias of enterprises, and so forth.

The pace of housing construction should be increased in every way possible, first of all on the basis of internal financing, so that people can see that solving their housing problem is realistic. To this end, materials should be acquired directly, including those at contract prices.

All petitions concerning the issues of remuneration for the labor of employees should be considered immediately, and decisions should be made proceeding from extensive powers given to the administration and trade union committees by the USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations) and Article 5 of the Basic Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on Labor.

It is proposed to pay particular attention to:

- increasing bonuses for work on night shifts, providing a normal regimen of work and rest for engine brigades, mechanics of refrigerator units, and conductors of passenger cars;
- setting monthly salaries of up to R250 instead of tariff rates for highly skilled workers doing particularly important and responsible work.

Financial aid should be provided, primarily for low-income employees and those with many children. Financial aid is to be given every quarter in cases when monetary income per family member is under R75 a month.

Reductions of prices for service-issued clothing of the old style kept at warehouses should be taken, and such clothing should be sold to all railroad employees who wish to purchase it; it should be issued free of charge to low-income families and those with many children.

Signing contracts with kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] for the acquisition of foodstuffs, including meat, should be practiced in order to ensure additional resources of such products.

With a view to reducing the cost of meals in workers' canteens, surcharges on raw materials and the difference between procurement and retail prices should be reimbursed; free meals should be provided at night. Auxiliary farms should be developed more vigorously.

The strictest workers' control over the operation of trade and public catering enterprises should be set up.

All sections of the right-of-way suitable for land use should be used for the accelerated development of gardening among the railroad employees and construction of individual garages; railroad employees should be given all possible assistance in acquiring construction materials at the enterprises of the industry; the motor vehicles and tractors necessary to transport their effects, lumber, and fuel and to plow their lots should be provided at the request of railroad personnel.

In resolving all issues of production and social development of labor collectives, no infringement on their rights and economic independence are to be allowed. It is categorically forbidden for superior organizations to reduce the economic incentives fund of structural units and enterprises formed in line with the performance of the latter and adopted economic norms.

The Ministry of Railroads and the trade union Central Committee will persistently strive to ensure a favorable resolution by the government of the issues raised before it, including those of retirement benefits, the duration of leaves, setting regional coefficients, and other social preferences.

It is important to resolve all the emerging issues with dispatch everywhere, in the center and in the field, without allowing red tape, bureaucratism, and a callous attitude toward people.

Minister Responds to Strike Inquiry

18290240 Moscow GUDOK in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 1

[Report by S. Turanov, TASS correspondent, (Moscow): "Open Railroad Cars for Coal"]

[Text] The miners' strike has led to a situation where in certain branches of the national economy—metallurgy, energy engineering, and rail transportation—a difficult situation has developed. Since for several days in a row the discussion on the intercom in the USSR Ministry of Railways has been mainly about coal shipments.

"Yesterday the dispatch of coal in the country exceeded 2 million tonnes, which is 250,000 tonnes more than a year ago"—N. Konarev, USSR minister of railways, opened the branch intercom conference with this reassuring announcement. "It is gratifying that the miners of the Kuzbass [Kuznets Basin] have finally reached a good tempo. For the fourth day in a row we will ship 7,000 carloads of fuel from here...."

The minister began the conversation with the leaders of the railroad that "feed" this region:

"All railroads must 'support' the Kuzbass with empty cars for otherwise there will not be enough open cars for the coal," he continued. "And without it many enterprises, for example, in the Urals, might have to shut

down. The main thing is to arrange efficient interaction of all railroad services. Consider the possibility of additional incentives for those who work well these days."

And for those who had been put in their places the conversation was unpleasant, for example, the deputy chief of the Orenburg division of the Southern Ural Railroad, V. Mikhno.

"Your empty cars stood idle for more than 4 hours," the minister was upset. "Are you aware that metallurgist and energy workers are waiting for this coal?"

Judging from the information given in the intercom conference, many workers in other branches did not understand this. For now each day they are unloading 12,000-15,000 fewer cars than last year!

In spite of this, coal is continuing to be delivered on the Northern Railroad. Although the miners of Vorkuta are still striking, the dispatch of coal from here has not completely come to a halt. And they have open cars in reserve in anticipation of the restoration of the former volumes of coal extraction.

Of course in the conference in the Ministry of Railways they discussed more than just problems of dispatching coal. The problem of grain shipments is crucial and therefore coordination of the actions of various branches is now even more necessary. And, concluding the conference, N. Konarev read an appeal from the ministry board to locomotive engineers. Because of the lack of raw material—it says—a number of enterprises of metallurgy and the fuel and energy complex are on the verge of closing down. The work rhythm of rail transportation has been seriously disturbed, which has complicated even more the normal functioning of the national economy. Therefore the majority of workers of the steel mainlines are now doing everything they can to normalize the work. The minister expressed his confidence that the railroad workers would provide an example of solidarity, organization, and discipline....

"How does the 'branch staff' feel about the possible railroad workers' strike that was mentioned at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet? For the transportation workers also probably have many unsolved problems, do they not?" A TASS correspondent asked N. Konarev this question.

"The problem undoubtedly exists," answered the minister. "But, analyzing it critically, we have long been working to improve the conditions for the life and labor of the railroad workers. Suffice it to say that the average monthly earnings in the branch have increased by 61 rubles during the past 6 years and the volume of introduction of dwelling space has doubled. Recently we have solved a number of problems having to do with the implementation of the social programs of our enterprises using their own funds and providing workers of the branch with food products and consumer goods. We are

now planning to create in the Ministry of Railways a special administration which will deal exclusively with the social problems of the branch. So workers of the steel mainlines can be confident that all the problems that are bothering them will be solved. And therefore I do not think there is any reason for a strike."

Rail Ministry Holds Expanded Collegium

Rail 'Strike' Committee Elected

18290244c Moscow GUDOK in Russian
29 Jul 89 p 1

[Article by M. Gorbis: "Relieving the Tension"]

[Text] On 27 July, 300 engineers and their assistants assembled at the propaganda room of the T. Shevchenko Engine Depo for graph analysis. Member of the party committee of the depot engineer V. Nikitin made a speech to them. He criticized sharply the status of the regimen of work and rest of engine brigades. Overtime at the enterprise has been growing, but payments for it have not been made on time.

As early as 18 July, the MPS [Ministry of Railroads] and the Central Committee of the trade union issued relevant instructions in this regard, of which the management of the depot was notified by a telegram. However, Manager of the depo Yu. Kobets did not communicate the content of the document to all engineers. Chief of the department of labor organization and wages V. Verbitskiy, who was present at the meeting, had to provide corresponding explanations.

The lack of economic independence of the collective was the cause of particular sharpness at the meeting. The participants of the meeting were outraged: Why are only 18 percent of the profits generated retained by the depot this year, whereas last year it was 30 percent?

It was stressed that many issues can be resolved locally, but there are issues which it has been difficult for years to ram through the solid wall at the ministry.

Chairman of the trade union committee of the depo N. Yakushenko, who spoke at the meeting, called on all engineers, all toilers of the enterprise to show a high level of organization and self-control. He proposed to approach the management of the railroad and the MPS in order to resolve the issues swiftly.

Nonetheless, a strike committee headed by engineer V. Nikitin was elected at the meeting. The demands of engineers of the depot were announced.

Having made the demands, the collective acted responsibly. The participants of the meeting confirmed that the engineers of the T. Shevchenko Depot will not take part in any strike at this difficult hour for our country.

'Social Problems' Addressed

18290244a Moscow GUDOK in Russian
29 Jul 89 p 1

[Report on the expanded meeting of the Ministry of Railroads Collegium: "Consulting With the Toilers of the Industry"]

[Text] On 27 and 28 July, a joint meeting of the MPS [Ministry of Railroads] collegium and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the industry trade union was held, at which the issues of organizing and holding the All-Union Conference of Railway Employees were considered. Meritorious employees-representatives of all railroads, employees of all professions in transportation took part in the conference.

The difference between the present collegium and the previous ones is not as much in the fact that acute problems solving which transcends the framework of the industry were discussed, and thus the need has emerged to invite the attention of party, soviet, and economic organs of the country to them through an all-union forum, as it is in the dispatch in solving the social problems of railway employees. The envoys of labor collectives brought an entire package of proposals aimed at improving the operation of transportation and the conditions for work, life, and recreation of employees. Engineer of the Shevchenko Engine Depot of the Odessa Railroad A. Golosinskiy complained that the depo personnel are ready to resolve the issue of housing by building homes with internal financing. However, construction machinery is lacking. After getting more precise information on the specific kinds of machinery lacking, Minister of Railroads N.S. Konarev immediately issued instructions on allocating the necessary equipment to the collective.

In other words, decisions on issues which the industry itself was in a position "to remove" from the agenda were made without delay. Other issues will be considered within 1 month. The collegium offered assurances that not one demand of the labor collectives will be left unconsidered.

Representatives of the labor collectives unanimously adopted an appeal to all toilers of the steel main lines.

Worker Concerns Discussed

18290429 Moscow GUDOK in Russian
2 Aug 89 p 1

[Report: "In the Ministry of Railroads Collegium and the Presidium of the Trade Union Central Committee: For the Benefit of Rail Workers"]

[Text] As has already been reported in GUDOK, a joint meeting of the MPS [Ministry of Railroads] Collegium and the Presidium of the trade union Central Committee was held on 27 and 28 July at which the issues of organizing and holding an All-Union Conference of Railroad Workers

were considered. Representatives of labor collectives from all railroads and a number of enterprises and subways of the country took part in the meeting.

At the meeting, a frank and sharp dialogue between representatives of the working class and the Ministry of Railroads and trade union Central Committee leadership was held on a very broad scope of issues. The speakers sharply criticized the procrastination and inadequacy of the measures taken with a view to eliminating serious shortcomings in both the production and social sphere. The inadmissible situation with the use of the working time of engine crews that has emerged on a number of railroads gives rise to particular concern.

Ad hoc decisions were made on many issues brought up at the meeting. Proposals on issues requiring government-level decisions were drafted and transmitted to superior organs.

The participants of the meeting adopted an appeal to all railroad workers of the country, which was published in the newspaper GUDOK on 29 July.

The Ministry of Railroads and the trade union Central Committee obligated the managers of railroads and divisions:

Within 10 days, to review in detail together with the crews, the conditions of work and rest of engine crews, and take specific measures to rectify shortcomings, primarily by strictly complying with the regimen of work of brigades. Every instance of violating the established duration of work should be regarded as an emergency with an immediate investigation and corresponding conclusions with regard to those at fault.

Beginning 1 September 1989, in the event of overtime, idle time, reductions in rest periods at place of residence, and time of stay at turnover points exceeding the set period caused by violations of the established duration of work of engine crews, additional outlays of the remuneration fund and financial incentive fund are to be reimbursed to the engine depots at the expense of funds for remuneration of the relevant subdivisions of the railroad administration, apparatus of the division, and structural units guilty of the violation of the established regimen of work time of engine crews.

It is categorically forbidden to divert to other uses cars assigned to transport engine crews. If needed, contracts should be signed with motor vehicle enterprises for the assignment of additional motor vehicles in order to fully meet the need for the delivery of engine crews to work and to their places of residence.

Commissions chaired by the chief engineers of railroads are charged to inspect within 10 days the condition of rest facilities for engine crews, provide the necessary conditions for rest, and allocate the funds needed for

foodstuffs. If necessary, plans for the reconstruction and construction of new rest facilities should be drafted and adopted taking into account the completion of work before the end of 1991.

Beginning 1 October 1989, the economic accountability indicator "engine-hour" is set for engine depots. The latter and the railroad divisions should sign contract agreements taking into account the performance indicator mentioned. Effective on the same date, the collection of payments for production assets from engine and car depots, track, signal and communications, and electricity supply divisions, as well as other line enterprises, is abolished. In conjunction with this, calculated prices based on economically accountable indicators must be made more precise.

It was resolved to issue one free railway ticket for one-time passage on the railway for personal reasons to railroad workers retiring after 1 January 1990 who have enjoyed this right when employed and have an uninterrupted tenure of 25 years or more in railroad transportation, and for those with 15 to 25 years in tenure one ticket with a 50-percent reduction.

It was recommended that the issues of allocating some of the money of the incentive fund (including reserves) for paying the cost of tickets be considered and resolved together with the labor collectives and trade union committees.

Relevant managers were instructed to organize, beginning in August of this year, the free delivery of fuel received from warehouses in keeping with the norms in effect in the Ministry of Railroads system to the workers and clerical personnel of railway transportation enterprises.

With a view to enhancing the prestige of railroad occupations, managers of railroads and divisions and managers of subways are allowed to issue free of charge, at the expense of railroads, divisions of railroads, and subways, uniforms to workers associated with train traffic and service to passengers in keeping with the norms and proceeding from the established period for wearing them.

Within 1 month, all bonuses accruing in keeping with the established procedures for saving electricity, fuel for train locomotion, and other specific kinds of material resources should be paid to employees. In the future, the above bonuses will be paid to specific individuals on a monthly basis.

It was resolved to pay bonuses comprehensively for driving trains with increased weight and length and reducing the time of delay of passenger trains.

Within the shortest time possible, a collection of materials on preferences in railroad transportation will be published taking into account the recently made decisions. In the future, as the preferences are enhanced, information will be published.

Relevant managers have been instructed to complete within 10 days the drafting of decisions on the issues raised by the employees of railway transportation enterprises at the meeting of the Ministry of Railroads Collegium and the Presidium of the trade union Central Committee.

Rail Workers' Plea for Calm

18290244b Moscow GUDOK in Russian
29 Jul 89 p 1

["Appeal to All Locomotive Engineers, Track Foreman, Dispatchers, Car Inspectors, to All Railroad Employees of the Country"]

[Text] We, representatives of all professions of railway transportation, having assembled in Moscow at an expanded meeting of the Collegium of the Ministry of Railroads and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Trade Union [of Railway Workers] to discuss the issue of holding the All-Union Conference of employees of our industry, have learned with much concern about the intention of individual comrades of ours to join the processes destabilizing perestroika and the national economy.

As we see it, such actions are inadmissible and unacceptable for us railroad employees. Indeed, lots of problems have accumulated in our industry. They need to be solved, and as fast as possible. Speeding up the favorable resolution of many of them is exactly the goal of our presence at the ministry.

However, all of us must grasp that only through creation and high performance at work better conditions for life and labor can be created. This is why, having voiced to the leadership of the ministry and the trade union Central Committee on your behalf the demands on the need to immediately resolve many issues of which our life and work consist, and having received assurances that they will be considered with the utmost attention, and the collectives will be informed about this within 1 month, we appeal to you not to allow any actions which disrupt the regular pace of the steel main lines of our country, the main pillar of the national economy of the USSR.

Let us show an example of high level of organization! Allow no violations of labor discipline!
[Group of signatures]

'Tense' Situation Remains in Nagorno-Karabakh
NC0408194989 Yerevan ARMENPRES International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 4 Aug 89

["Developments Around Nagorno-Karabkh"—TASS-ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Stepanakert, 4 Aug (TASS-ARMENPRES)—The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and in the adjacent regions continued to remain tense on 1 August. Despite the measures taken by

the special administration committee, the commandant of the special district, and the law enforcement bodies, instances of road blockades and attacks on cars are still taking place throughout the oblast and in bordering regions.

A group of people, nearly 300 strong, attacked a convoy of cars loaded with construction material near the town of Lachin in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. The convoy was bound from the Armenian SSR to the NKAO. As a result of the attack, 13 drivers were injured, and three of them were hospitalized. Three Army servicemen escorting the convoy were also injured while attempting to repel the attack. Eight of the attackers received various injuries.

In retaliation for that action, attempts were made in Stepanakert to block off the Shushi-Akhtam road, but this was prevented in time by the militia and units of the internal security forces.

Brigadier General Yu.V. Shatalin, chief of internal security forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, left for the Stepanakert and Lachin areas on 1 August to study the situation that has emerged and to take the necessary measures.

Azerbaijan Party Views Nagorno-Karabakh Situation
NC0508070989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1600 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has been held on the need for additional measures to realize the decision adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the violation of the constitutional rights of citizens in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the Armenian SSR. The meeting reached the following conclusions:

Cases of threats against citizens and violations of their constitutional rights because of their ethnic status have been allowed in Baku city and other rayons in the republic as a result of the recent worsening of the situation in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The party committees have been instructed to strengthen their organizational and political work among the various categories and groups of people and to adopt effective ways of working with them for that purpose.

The efforts of primary party organizations and all communists must be channeled toward normalizing the situation and obstructing every kind of activity that can cause interethnic clashes. The responsibilities of leading communists must be increased so that the proper moral and political conditions and a spirit of internationalism in the work collectives are created.

Greater attention must be paid to safeguarding social law and order. The activity carried out to attract workers to participate in the struggle against violations of law and to strengthen socialist law must be intensified. For this purpose, measures must be taken to complete the organization of workers groups to maintain social law and order in the establishments, collective farms, state farms, and administrations in Baku, Kirovabad, Sumgait, Mingechaur, and other cities.

The Azerbaijan SSR Procuracy, Supreme Court, and Ministries of Internal Affairs and [word indistinct] must take urgent and resolute measures to examine all the facts related to moves aimed at inciting interethnic discord and instigating people to engage in activities conflicting with society and guarantee the security of the people and safeguard the citizenship rights of all the nationalities in the republic.

Armenia-Azerbaijan Railway Problem Detailed

LD0508205989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer Gennadiy Vedenyapin] Yesterday the stations of the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasus Railway started to take trains dispatched along the Azerbaijan Railway. Prior to that, railway communications between Azerbaijan and Armenia had been completely halted for more than 5 days. Around 22,000 cars of national economic freight for Armenia, first and foremost for the areas which suffered the earthquake, were standing in the sidings. Our correspondent Koryun Khumaryan reports.

[Khumaryan] The crisis on the Nakhichevan sector of the Azerbaijan railway did not occur by chance. It is closely linked to the problem of self-determination of Nagorno-Karabakh and at times takes the ugliest forms. I will give just a few examples from recent times, which were shared with me by Colonel of the Militia (Eduard Shaginyan), head of the Armenian Directorate of Internal Affairs on Transport. On 16 July a Kafan-Yerevan passenger train passing through the Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] in Azerbaijan was detained at Mindzhevan station. The passengers were threatened with violence and acts degrading to their honor and dignity were permitted to occur. One hundred-forty windows on the carriage were broken, one of them bears the traces of firearms. On the night of 17-18 July, at the very same station, a group of unknown Azerbaijani individuals burst into the fifth car of train No 658 from Baku to Yerevan. They taunted the passengers and beat up (Danielyan), a resident of Baku. (Izmail Okar Ogly Dzafarov), the train conductor, who tried to call the militia and to stop the hooligans, was also beaten. On 21 July the permanent way of the railway as barricaded on the Yeraskh-Norashen sector using blocks of stone. A catastrophe was only averted thanks to the vigilance of the militia officers accompanying train no 1,035 from Yeraskh to Norashen. There are quite a number of documents concerning this sort of thing at

Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasus Railway, too. On the desk of the head of the branch are hundreds of photographs of broken and twisted passenger cars, broken and twisted houses which were intended for those left homeless in the earthquake area. The glass is broken, there are traces and dents of stones on the cars, and on one of them are traces of firearms. This is how the passenger train from Kafan arrived on 18th July in Yerevan.

Here is the report made by (Yedazaryan) head of the train from Yerevan to Kafan to Kandilyan, head of the Yerevan branch: On 22 July at Yaidzhy station in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan, unknown persons opened fire on the train several times. There were 11 sets of bullet marks on the railway cars of that train. Incidentally, this train, which was also subjected to other trials, did not reach its destination. The passengers were taken to Yerevan by bus. Indeed, a dangerous journey awaits anyone risking traveling on this line.

According to a plan drawn up by the USSR Ministry of Railways, around 950 wagons should be arriving daily in Armenia along the Azerbaijani Railway, but from 28 July-2 August alone Armenia failed to receive around 5,600 wagons of national economic freight. In the course of a month 11,179 wagons have failed to arrive and more than 20,000 wagons have now accumulated at stations on the Azerbaijani railway, carrying national economic freight for Armenia.

(Albert Vartanovich Aruyan), deputy head of the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasus Railway, has been on duty for 2 nights in succession in the neighboring republic, ensuring the uninterrupted movement of traffic into Armenia.

[Begin recording] [(Aruyan)] I can tell you now that the state of affairs on this sector is being put right.

[Khumaryan] Are serious proceedings of any kind to be instituted against those who interrupted train traffic?

[(Aruyan)] Of course, the Ministry of Railways will be drawing its own conclusions from all of this, but I personally think that the railways should be inviolable, and no local power should influence the movement of traffic. After all, as we all know, the railways are the blood vessels of our enormous country. The railways must retain their inviolability. [end recording]

Armenian Rail Worker Cited on Service Disruption

NC0508080589 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1800 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] For the past 7 days, the republic's railways have not been receiving trains from Azerbaijan. Dozens of freight trains that pass through Azerbaijan on their way to Armenia are not reaching their final destination. At present, many trains loaded with goods urgently required

by the national economy are stranded and awaiting orders to depart in [name indistinct] and other stations in Azerbaijan. Passenger rail service between the capitals of the two republics has been suspended. The Yerevan-Ghapan line, which uses a section of the Baku-Yerevan track, is also not operating.

Our correspondent spoke with Khandilyan, chief of the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasian railways. He said that because of the disruption of rail services and freight delays, our republic's industrial enterprises are unable to receive raw materials and construction goods. This deplorable situation in no way bothers the railroad workers of the neighboring republic; they resort to various pretexts to evade responsibility. Our various proposals to resolve the impasse have been turned down.

Two Armenians Killed in Ethnic Fighting
*AU0708080289 Paris AFP in English 0751 GMT
7 Aug 89*

[Text] Moscow, Aug 7 (AFP)—Two Armenians were killed last Thursday [3 August] in renewed ethnic fighting in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, a Soviet official said Monday.

Mussa Mamedov, spokesman for the republic's Foreign Ministry, said the two were killed and "some" Azeris wounded when clashes broke out in an Armenian district in the city.

A member of the Baku cultural relations center, Navim Raguimov, also contacted by telephone Monday, said the killings occurred after the Azeris "decided to take revenge" after one of their members was knifed in the fight.

He said the Azeris also burned down a house in the district. Army troops stationed in the area to monitor a curfew "did not intervene", he said.

There was no mention of the incident in the Moscow press Monday.

Disturbances Continue in Georgia, Situation Viewed

Search for 'Hooligans' Under Way
*PM1707152989 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
30 Jun 89 p 3*

[Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs press group report: "Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs Reports"]

[Text] As a result of law enforcement organs' prompt action and explanatory work by the republic's party and soviet organs among the population, the situation in Marneulskiy and Bolnisskiy Rayons is stabilizing.

However, some of the instigators and spreaders of dubious rumors have moved to the neighboring Dmanisskiy Rayon.

On 27 June at 2200 hours a group of hooligans on trucks without license plates caused a disturbance in Dmanisi City, using foul language and trying to hurl petrol bombs at houses. The hooligans failed to respond to militia staffers' demands to stop their hooligan behavior. One of the trucks tried to run down the chief of the Dmanisskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department State Automobile Inspectorate, as a result of which he sustained bodily injuries. The driver of the second truck also tried to run over the already injured official. In an effort to thwart the attack, one of the rayon militia department staffers fired a number of shots into the air. There were no casualties. Criminal proceedings have been instituted. An investigation and a search for the criminals are under way.

On 28 June at 2000 hours an unidentified criminal wounded P. Askerov and Ya. Tyagiyeu with a shot from a hunting rifle in the vicinity of Dallari village in Dmanisskiy Rayon. Criminal proceedings have been instituted. An investigation and search are under way.

The confiscation of firearms from the population is continuing. As reported earlier, around 800 firearms have already been confiscated. On 26 and 27 June, 51 firearms, 350 edged weapons, 12 petrol bombs, and 60 smoke grenades were confiscated from inhabitants of Marneuli city, and Marneulskiy and Bolnisskiy Rayons.

The leadership of the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs again calls on all citizens not to succumb to the influence of the instigators and spreaders of rumors and hopes that they will display common sense and restraint and surrender weapons voluntarily.

The militia, together with party and soviet organs, is taking all the necessary steps to establish proper order. The situation in the region is under the control of law enforcement organs.

Sukhumi 'Under Control'

*PM0408121089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Aug 89 Second Edition p 8*

[GRUZINFORM and TASS report: "Restoring Mutual Trust"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 3 Aug—For the first time in the last 2 weeks, an Airbus with a full load has landed at Sukhumi after arriving from Moscow. It was carrying more than 300 foreign tourists on vacation. The streets of the resort city have come to life. They are full of cars again.

Life is also returning to normal in other cities and villages in the region, public transport is working uninterruptedly, and intercity buses, trains, and aircraft are setting off on schedule. In all, only 10 enterprises are not working in the autonomous republic. In three cases, this is because of the lack of raw and semifinished materials.

The Ingurskaya hydroelectric power station, the biggest in the Transcaucasus, is again operating at full design capacity. All five units have reached the necessary pace.

According to a report of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry temporary press center, since events began, 1,113 kg of explosives and 1,578 firearms have been confiscated from the population or voluntarily handed in. They include 3 machineguns, 106 submachineguns, 139 rifles, 47 carbines, and 19 pistols.

The situation in Ochamchirskiy Rayon is worrying at present. Here a strike of collectives of the mixed feed plant and collective and state farms is continuing. Their appeal contains criticism of the rayon leaders for, in effect, promoting the outbreak of disturbances. The strikers demand new elections for all the members of the rayon party committee [raykom] bureau and the rayon soviet executive committee and the dismissal of the leaders of law enforcement organs.

In the village of Ilori, a large group of inhabitants of the rayon center and surrounding villages have declared a sit-in, putting forward the slogan: "Down with the leaders who kindle interethnic hostility between two blood brothers—the Abkhazians and the Georgians."

To defuse the explosive situation and restore the traditionally good relations, disrupted by events in Sukhumi, between Ochamchirskiy Rayon Abkhazians and Georgians, party and soviet leaders from Abkhazia come here often. The other day a conference was held at the raykom with the participation of G. Anchabadze, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, V. Khishba, first secretary of Abkhaz oblast party committee, and other leaders. A plan of action was drawn up for reconciling the conflicting parties and stabilizing the situation in the rayon.

Since the beginning of the events in Abkhazia the prosecutor's office and militia have instituted 72 criminal cases against persons suspected of participating in disturbances and spreading slanderous rumors. The law enforcement organs continue their work.

In general, the situation in the republic is under control.

Abkhaziya Situation Described

LD0508185189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] The temporary press center of the USSR Interior Ministry in Abkhaziya reports that a tense atmosphere has been maintained in the past 24 hours in the republic. Most enterprises and establishments have been operational. Public, rail, and air transportation services functioned in Sukhumi. A difficult situation was noted in Ochamchira rayon. A number of enterprises, mines, establishments and transportation services were not working in Tkvarcheli. A strike committee has been elected.

Twelve firearms have been confiscated in the autonomous republic in the last 24 hours, including four automatic weapons. Since the advent of the current situation, 1,746 have been confiscated or have been voluntarily surrendered. The situation is being monitored.

Abkhaziya Situation Remains 'Tense'

LD0608151389 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 1330 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Text] The USSR Internal Affairs Ministry's temporary press center in Abkhaziya reports that during the last 24 hours, most enterprises and establishments in the autonomous republic were operating. Traffic has been restored to normal. Public rail and air transport is functioning.

A total of 27 trains, including 15 passenger trains, left Sukhumi station. Eighteen flights carrying 1321 passengers departed from Sukhumi Airport.

At the same time, the situation in the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic remains tense. The situation in Tkvarcheli has become complicated, with many enterprises and establishments on strike. In Ochamchirskiy Rayon there are a number of enterprises, establishments, collective farms [kolkhozes], and state farms [sovkhozes] that are still not working. In the village of Ilori in Ochamchirskiy Rayon, 26 persons staging a sit-in went on a hunger strike. In the village of Tamyshe in the same rayon about a thousand local inhabitants met to discuss how to normalize the situation.

In the past 24 hours, 36 firearms have been seized in the autonomous republic, including three rifles. Checks have been stepped up to determine whether citizens are observing the travel procedures under the terms of the special conduct conditions. On the night of 5-6 August, 165 people were held for violations of these procedures. The situation is being monitored [kontroliruyetsya] by the forces and resources of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry.

Abkhazian Interior Ministry Criticized

LD0408205889 Moscow TASS in English 2039 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] Tbilisi, Soviet Georgia, August 5 Gruzinform, TASS—Interior Ministry troops were patrolling Sukhumi, capital of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic, without firearms on Friday, which was a sign of normalisation of the situation in Abkhaziya.

A commission of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet, which includes members of broad sections of the public, is investigating the circumstances and causes of the conflict between Abkhazians and Georgians.

Relying on irrefutable facts, Abkhazian Communist Party organisations are giving a political assessment to the negative phenomena in the work of the Abkhazian Interior Ministry during the tragic events in Sukhumi.

The bureau of the Abkhazian regional party committee said at its meeting that efficiency of efforts taken by Interior Ministry bodies to prevent and stop offenses on ethnic grounds had largely been reduced by slow reaction and lack of coordination on the part of the Ministry's departments, services and units.

No measures had been taken to identify people guilty of destabilising the situation in the autonomous republic and committing ethnic crimes and to start proceedings against them.

In the period of mass disorder and aggravation of tensions, senior executives of the Interior Ministry and its services failed to prevent conflicts, displayed irresponsibility and lack of professionalism, and did not ensure reliable protection of premises where firearms were kept.

On the whole, the situation in Georgia remains stable and under control of local authorities.

Zaykov Interviewed on Moscow, Politburo
*LD0308175989 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1342 GMT 3 Aug 89*

[Text] Moscow, 3 Aug (TASS)—Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow city party committee, has given an interview to Pavel Gusev, editor of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS which was published in today's issue of the paper.

Speaking about one of the most acute problems—housing—Lev Zaykov pointed to two main areas crucial to ensuring whether every Moscow family receives a separate apartment by the year 2000. The first is the ensuring of housing construction. A most important condition for this is the rapid development of the construction industry. The second condition is regulating the whole mechanism for distributing housing.

He also touched on other matters that need to be urgently resolved—the fight against organized crime, racketeering, and juvenile crime. The party leader sees a way out of the situation that has taken shape in the capital, above all, by tackling legal reform at the same time as economic, social, and ecological problems. Lev Zaykov assigns a special role to the public—to people's and workers' control and to volunteer street patrols. He believes that order can be established in Moscow only by relying on the active and aware section of society.

The editor of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS also asked Lev Zaykov a number of questions of another kind, in particular about his attitude to Boris Yeltsin. "I have not known him long", he said. "We got to know each other working on the CPSU Central Committee at the same time. I would like to stress that his character does have positive traits. He is a seeker, a determined and ambitious person. He has abilities as an organizer

and knows how to draw people after him." But there is also something in Yeltsin which puts Zaykov on his guard: "having made promises and raised people 'for the attack', Boris Yeltsin does not, in my view, always have a clear idea beforehand of the aims and possibilities of the offensive. Hence comes a contradictory attitude: both respect and a sense of unease".

Replying to a question on how he manages to combine three posts in the party, Lev Zaykov pointed to two aspects. Such a combination, he said, would be impossible without highly-qualified specialists working nearby, people on whom one can rely in all matters. At the same time, Lev Zaykov said, his attention is concentrated more, of course, on his work at the city party committee. Speaking about his work as a Politburo member, Lev Zaykov reported that a Politburo sitting lasts 7-8 hours. "Sometimes, only one question will be studied at one sitting before we adopt a decision. We virtually all express our views, then debate and argue, disagreeing with certain standpoints, and then coming to a decision". Lev Zaykov concluded.

Oblast Official Calls for 'Party Purge'
*PM0608211189 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 p 2*

[Article by Ulyanovsk CPSU Oblast Committee Secretary O. Kazarov under the rubric "The Party Within Perestroika, Perestroika Within the Party": "Behind Whom Is the Vanguard Lagging? To Talk of the Party Today Is To Talk of the Fate of Socialism"]

[Text] Many authors see one of the main reasons for the "party's lag" as lying in internal party democracy that is frozen at the pre-perestroika level at a time when all strata of society are in the grip of "headlong democracy." That is not altogether true, or even altogether not true. Those who assert such things have clearly not attended party meetings, plenums, and aktiv meetings at local level since the time before perestroika. The overwhelming majority of party forums today proceed just as sharply as the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, admittedly without the walkouts from the auditorium, without the wish to create factions, and without the lines of people by the presidium. It is also claimed that elections to party committees largely fail to offer a choice of candidates. Whereas the elections of people's deputies, it is argued, were real elections. This comparison too is not in the party's favor.

First, the nomination and self-nomination of multiple candidates for people's deputy did not produce only positive results. No mention is made of the negative consequences of the elections—of which M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, himself has spoken—whereby a large number of ordinary workers and peasants failed to be elected. Often the candidate who became people's deputy was not the one with the most constructive platform but the one who made the best job of bad-mouthing reality, was most

desperate in criticizing the party, and made the biggest promises. Selfless criticism of so-called privileges went down particularly well, although no people's deputy has refused his own privileges as deputy, indeed, quite the reverse, the question of increasing them has been raised.

Second, pursuing the theme of multiple candidates, it should be said that election as a people's deputy improved people's material position. But as a rule election to a party post leads to a fall in wages. I don't know how things are at a higher level, but so far as CPSU raykom [rayon committee], gorkom [city committee] and obkom [oblast committee] secretaries are concerned, as yet we cannot even dream of multiple candidates. Today only party discipline and consciousness keep communists in these posts. And as for primary party organization secretaries, there the elections are often held on the "anyone but me" principle. At the 19th party conference it was announced that party workers are in 26th place in the country in terms of wages. I think that in a year we have slipped even further behind. The party is already losing good cadres. The prestige of party work is declining catastrophically in conditions where moral and material incentives are lacking.

You cannot unequivocally say what is the reason for this situation, but clearly not the least factor is the loss of socialist and communist ideals.

The pandering (there is no other word I could pick) to certain associations (I refuse to describe them as informal) which criticize everything without offering any constructive proposals and do not want to assume any responsibility for anything is also playing a part. Cases of passive defense by Communists in the face of excited loudmouths accusing the CPSU of every mortal sin take place not because party workers lack erudition and the ability to influence the audience. But because Communists are placed (not without the help of various associations and the mass media) in a position in which they answer for everything and their opponents among the "loudmouths" answer for nothing.

Following somebody's lead, the guilt of individual party leaders, albeit of high rank, is presented as the guilt of the whole party. With somebody's tacit consent, in general the entire historical activity of the party and even of V.I. Lenin is called into question. I think that in this case a party purge would play a positive role. This would help every Communist and party worker to look the people honestly in the eye afterwards. The shadow of the crimes of individual leading persons would not fall on them. Apparently we are striving to follow Lenin in all our actions today. Pluralism of opinions, tolerance of dissent, the return to cooperatives and to Leninist principles of economic accountability.... But there were also purges under Lenin. For many years we took from Lenin only what was convenient. Isn't this also happening in the era of perestroika?

Indeed, you cannot deny that the informals have the ability to make impassioned speeches and to make timely, flexible changes in their slogans. Admittedly, it is always easier to do that than specific work. In fact, it is difficult to tell our opponents why there is no sugar in the stores and why a shortage and frenetic demand for detergents have been artificially created. The weight of responsibility for shortages now lies on local party and soviet organs, although all the fundamental (or, to be more accurate, fundamentally wrong) decisions were made somewhere at the center, without consultation with the party and the people.

Truth is specific, so I would like to find out specifically how the party is lagging behind in terms of perestroika. Behind what political or social institutions? Ministries? Departments?...

Maybe the soviets have spurred ahead? As yet I see no sign of them seeking to take on the whole volume of work that was formerly borne by party organs. Demarcation of functions has still not taken place. Maybe the trade unions are ahead of the party in perestroika? Or maybe the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League]? Or has our science undergone perestroika? Perhaps the economy has restructured itself while the party has been stuck on the launchpad?

No, the results of the reform in the economy are unimpressive as yet. Moreover, it is already clear that, with the exception of certain regions, the 5-year plan will not be fulfilled in terms of a number of basic technical and economic indicators. The financial system is in a "groggy" state—we are particularly aware of this at local level. Wholesale trade has not happened, but the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply has lost control over the movement of material resources. Direct ties between enterprises take the form of a prehistoric exchange of materials. Labor discipline is falling, and sloppiness is leading to accidents and disasters. The declarations at all levels that democracy is unthinkable without discipline remain just declarations. Yes, administrative methods have outlived their usefulness, but therapy by exhortation is not omnipotent. Leaders' flirting with collectives is by no means the smallest factor leading to inflation. And what is to be done with the banking system? With public health? With the agro-industrial sector?

And how successful have we been in creating a rule-of-law state? In the process of the humanization of legislation there is a distortion in favor of lawbreakers and organized crime, law and order has been seriously shaken, and certain legislative acts are so half-baked as to be unfit for consumption. Administrative organs are confused, as they conduct investigations and hold trials they are concerned to ensure that they are not suspected of being undemocratic and do not "feature" in the central press.

And what about interethnic problems? For some reason it is customary to believe that they accumulated during the period of stagnation. Aren't we deluding ourselves with this theory, just as references used to be made to the "birthmarks of the past"? What accumulated problems can explain the sudden emergence of Georgian, Baltic, Moldavian, and other phenomena, with their lack of respect for the union constitution?

I would be so bold as to say that the party is not even lagging behind the new Supreme Soviet. The worrying thing here is the unprofessional solutions of serious issues, of which good has never come. We have all criticized the voluntarism of party workers, but now we have voluntarism in the supreme organ. The sittings of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet were not notable for their conceptual approach.

And is it possible to decide by a vote whether or not the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry should exist? The USSR Supreme Soviet resolution, adopted by a vote, discharging 176,000 of various categories of draftees among students is also based not on professional knowledge but on emotion. As though all our international and defense problems are now solved and someone is guaranteeing us peace and quiet forever.

Of course, the party bears its share of responsibility for the slow pace of perestroika in all institutions, sectors, and elements of society. However, this certainly does not mean that in its perestroika the party is lagging behind a swiftly politicized people. A real party worker is always happy to take part in any serious debate. But a serious debate, not one conducted to the accompaniment of the howling of the mob, with which no civilized country in the world conducts arguments. In any debate the tone must be set not by those who merely perceive the problems, but by those who see the way out of them.

I agree that certain informal associations and certain press organs have dashed a long way ahead. But is that the direction in which perestroika within the CPSU should be moved?

The process of democratization within the party is taking its course. We are not waiting for any instructions from the center. In many respects the perestroika of party committees at local level is ahead of perestroika in other spheres. The party apparatus has long since been streamlined (I would note that it is practically the only thing that has been streamlined!). Sectorial departments have been abolished. However, party committees retain a number of their former functions, and if we now abandon these functions, the economic situation will be still further complicated. The workload on the apparatus, in view of the new political tasks as well, has doubled or tripled. Whereas before there were 28 personnel in the obkom's industrial sector departments, now there are just 7 in the Socioeconomic Department. And although these are mostly people of the highest qualifications, they simply lack the time to do a great deal.

Meanwhile there are still many unenterprising, inert, or simply workshy communists in party organizations, and it will scarcely be possible to mobilize them for active political work. It is for precisely this reason that today we must see who is to be relied upon and who can have party demands made on them, and who is simply dead wood that justifies its membership of the CPSU neither in word nor in deed.

I think it will be no tragedy if the party becomes substantially smaller. This is a question that the 28th CPSU Congress must resolve. Just as it must decide according to the strictest criteria about party discipline, without which no party can exist.

Of course, there are many questions regarding perestroika in the party. But one thing is certain—as before, the party remains the vanguard of society, even today it is the vanguard of perestroika, and even today it is not lagging behind anyone.

Yeltsin Optimistic on Success of Perestroika

*LD0408195389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 4 Aug 89*

[From the Film Panorama program]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Presenter Yuriy Gladilshchikov, head of arts department of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] One of the most interesting events at the festival was a meeting with people's deputies of the USSR. Unfortunately, we cannot show all the speeches in our short program, speeches which were no less interesting than those at the live session. But you will now see what Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said in reply to a Film Panorama.

[Begin recording] [Video shows Yeltsin on platform before a large audience, unidentified chairman at microphone]

[Chairman] And now we have received a note requesting that a question be asked from the floor.

[Yeltsin] Go ahead.

[Gladilshchikov] A question about historical analogies. These are always somewhat inaccurate and dangerous, but nevertheless: We saw here yesterday [date not specified] the Istvan Szabo film called *Hanuszen*. This is a film about how a country—in this case Germany—progressed very naturally from democracy to fascism. Furthermore, it progressed to fascism for a reason that has already been mentioned here today—because the people are dissatisfied and demands order, because there is quite naturally economic instability in the first years of democracy; and also because there are people who demand an increasing degree of freedom for themselves in order to secure democracy. And indeed, we know of many cases in history where people fighting for freedom

then spilled a sea of blood. What do you think: Is there any danger of fascism in our country, albeit a small one? If there is such a danger, then what is the way or the ways to this danger?

[Yeltsin] No, I nevertheless do not see any real possibility that there could be fascism in our country, since the people are changing—the people who were in a state of apathy, who took no interest in politics, whose personal dignity was crushed, and the people who are now—in the midst of the democratization of society—acquiring or regaining their own dignity, becoming politically-minded and have a civic position. The people will therefore, of course, not permit this.

What is another matter, however, is that we know both from the history of certain countries in the world, and also, in general, in theory, that when a revolution proceeds from above—perestroika is what is meant here, that is—and taking into account the fact that this will go on to infringe to an increasing extent upon the interests of the apparatus, the apparatus primarily, then the latter will oppose this perestroika—then in theory, a return to authoritarian methods of leadership and to a totalitarian state is possible. But I am nevertheless an optimist, and I hope that no matter how hard it may be, perestroika will be victorious. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Komsomol Resolves To Hold 21st Congress
18001465 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 2 Aug 89 p 1

["Resolution of the Eighth VLSKM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee Plenum; On Convening the 21st Congress of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League"]

The 8th All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee [CC] plenum resolves: 1. To consider essential the convocation of the 21st Komsomol Congress in the spring of 1990 in Moscow.

To examine at the Congress the state of affairs in the Komsomol, the tasks of Komsomol organizations in restructuring the work of the League, questions on the Program and new Charter of the Komsomol, and to conduct elections of the Komsomol's central organs. 2. To instruct the Komsomol CC Bureau to work out a new procedure for electing delegates to the 21st Komsomol Congress, a procedure for forming Komsomol central election organs, and to consider these procedures at a routine Komsomol CC plenum.

Several proposals were put to the vote. One hundred and thirty-eight Komsomol CC members, that is, over half of those present at the plenum, voted for the resolution adopted.

Komsomol Central Committee Prepares for 8th Plenum
18001384 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 23 Jul 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "On the Eve of the Plenum"]

[Text]

From the Bureau Meeting Hall

The bureau of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee at its regular meeting considered the question of implementing the Komsomol budget for 1988. The revenue party of the Komsomol budget was R544.3 million and the expenditure party—R484.4 million. It was noted that the expenditures of local organs exceed their revenues and the difference is covered from other items in the budget.

Revenue from publishing activity of the Komsomol Central Committee remains an important source for augmenting the budget which actually provides for the excess of revenues over expenditures.

The Komsomol Central Committee bureau discussed questions of preparing for the 8th plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee. They also discussed the main points of the bureau report, "On the State of Affairs in the Komsomol." It is intended to reflect the situation in the Komsomol since the 20th Komsomol Congress, give an evaluation of the activity of the bureau and secretariat, and determine the basic approaches to developing the new model of the Komsomol which will meet the requirements of perestroika.

They also considered the course of the preparation of the concept of the Komsomol program and the preliminary variants of the regulations which are to be used as working materials for the plenum, and after their discussion, as a basis for the formation of program documents for the 21st Komsomol Congress.

The discussion of the drafts of these documents confirms the need to raise at the plenum the question "On Convening the 21st Komsomol Congress."

A decision was made to introduce at the plenum drafts of documents pertaining to the results of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the first results of the work of the group of people's deputies from the Komsomol, the question of the 22d Komsomol Congress, and the basic directions for restructuring control in the Komsomol.

It was suggested that they discuss at the plenum the temporary provisions on commissions of the Komsomol Central Committee, the status of a member of the Komsomol Central Committee, and the temporary regulations of the plenum.

The bureau discussed the situation in the Komsomol and the principles of its activity in the modern stage as well as questions of restructuring the international activity of the Komsomol, and it recognized the need to develop at the plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee a collective position regarding these questions.

Taking into account the large amount of work done by members of the central electoral organs, Komsomol workers, scholars, and representatives of independent youth associations for preparing materials for the plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee, the bureau extends to all of them its gratitude for their cooperation.

The Regional Meeting

At the Higher Komsomol School under the Komsomol Central Committee there was a regional meeting of secretaries of Komsomol obkoms [oblast committees] of the Central, Volgo-Vyatka, and Povolzhye districts. Participants in the meeting supported the agenda for the 8th Plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee proposed by the bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee. It was decided that it is necessary for the commission of members of the Komsomol Central Committee to give a co-report on the activity of the bureau and secretariat of the Komsomol Central Committee. During the course of the meeting they discussed questions of the position and role of the Komsomol in the political system of the society, the procedure for preparing for and the time periods for conducting the 21st Komsomol Congress, the adoption of a program and new regulations for the Komsomol, and the models of the Komsomol. From the results of the meeting they prepared summary documents and a draft resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee which was introduced at the Komsomol Central Committee.

Your Documents?

During the course of preparing for the 8th plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee there was a joint meeting of the commissions for developing the documents and materials of the plenum.

It was noted that the document prepared by the bureau would be a concept for a radical renewal of the Komsomol in the direction of the general democratic transformations that are taking place in our society.

There is no longer any doubt that the Komsomol needs its own program. And it should be a program of an independent political organization with its own political goals and its own methods of struggling for their achievement.

The commission for preparing the concept of changes in the Komsomol regulations directed its work basically toward two drafts of the document, and both will actually be included in the new model of the Komsomol. The two drafts have a number of positions in common. At the

same time the drafts are based on different structures of the Komsomol and the interpretation of the basic principles of the organizations life and activity also differs.

Several alternative variants of the draft of the program are being considered at the present time. The adoption of this important document should be preceded by extensive discussion of it with the participation of all Komsomol members.

Maritime Region Flooding Results in 17 Deaths LD0408205989 Moscow TASS in English 1849 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] Vladivostok August 4 TASS—It has been ten days since the devastating flood hit the Soviet Maritime region in the Far East. Worst hit is an area in the North between towns Lesozavodsk and Dalnerechensk where a section of the Trans-Siberian Railway is still out of operation.

Soldiers of the Far Eastern Military District and Border Guards render considerable assistance in the evacuation of the population. All forces were committed to saving Dalnerechensk. An embankment being built there did not withstand the pressure of the water. A decision was taken to blow up a small section of the railway to channel the water into a small valley where it will cease to pose a threat to houses and farmland.

Across the territory near the town Partizanskiy the flood threatened with a large ecological disaster when rising water reached the ash spoil heaps of a thermal power station. Washing away several millions tons of ash, the turbulent currents could "bury" in ash the Partizanskiy valley, the most fertile land in the Maritime region. Rescuers worked for a whole day erecting a dam in the way of the flood.

According to preliminary data, the total damage from the flood to the Maritime region exceeded 400 million roubles. The death toll has risen to 17 people.

Slyunkov, Voronin Attend Railwaymen's Day Meeting LD0508090689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting marking Railwaymen's Day, held in Moscow today, heard a call for the need to speed up scientific and technological progress in the industry, to improve the organization of freight and passenger transport, and also for ways of tackling the social problems on the railways.

Taking part were comrades Slyunkov and Voronin, and also Comrade Konarev, USSR minister of railways, heads of ministries and official departments, front-ranking production workers, and representatives of the capital's public.

Social Scientists View Socialist Concept

PM1707090889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Part one of article prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Social Sciences Section based on its regular monthly seminar, under the rubric "Questions of Theory: Discussion Platform": "Toward a Modern Concept of Socialism"; date of seminar session not stated; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Leading social scientists and the leaders of a number of institutes meet once a month for a seminar hosted by Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. At the session of the Social Sciences Section seminar, reports and briefings devoted to a wide range of topical problems of the theory and practice of socialism, perestroika, and the renewal of our society are discussed in a free, creative atmosphere. L.I. Abalkin, O.T. Bogomolov, A.P. Butenko, A.A. Galkin, V.Ye. Guliyev, T.I. Zaslavskaya, A.G. Zdravomyslov, I.D. Kovalchenko, Yu.A. Krasin, G.L. Smirnov, V.S. Stepin, B.N. Topornin, Ye.P. Chelyshev, V.A. Yadov, R.G. Yanovskiy, and other scientists take part in the seminar.

At present, now that an active quest is under way for revolutionary ways of transforming society, the social scientists' constructive, unorthodox ideas are undoubtedly of interest to everyone who ponders the future of socialism. At PRAVDA's request, the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Social Sciences Section prepared an article "Toward a Modern Concept of Socialism," based on the discussions at the seminar. In publishing it, we invite all those who so wish to continue the discussion of the problems raised.

I.

The further the perestroika process develops in Soviet society, the clearer it becomes that it is not a question of a cosmetic repair job, but of a very profound revolutionary change intended to give socialism a new quality, a kind of second wind. This cannot be done without a profound renewal of all aspects of society's life, both material and spiritual. Only then will socialism be able to acquire a truly human face and reveal to the full its humanist nature.

In the political and social research that has already appeared in this area, a conclusion that is appearing increasingly persistently is that perestroika is a revolutionary process precisely because it raises the question not simply of improving our living conditions, but of establishing in Marxist theory, on the basis of a modern vision of the new society, a new, modern concept of socialism, and putting that concept into practice. The new thinking not only concerns international relations and the global problems of today, it is also closely associated with the new

vision of socialism. Furthermore this new vision of the socialist society is itself destined to take a central place in the new thinking and to form its essence.

The formulation of a modern concept of socialism presupposes the definition of socialism's place and role in the modern world and the identification of the ways and means of renewing the socialist society and the prospects for its development. All this demands the critical use of the world experience of socialist building, the study of the theoretical work of supporters and opponents of socialist doctrine, and the construction of well-founded predictions of the development of human civilization.

The experience of building socialism both in our country and abroad has demonstrated convincingly that the general principles of building and developing the socialist society are realized in various ways, take various forms, and are implemented within varying time frames, and this is very closely associated with the historically determined peculiarities of the socioeconomic, political, and cultural development of different countries and peoples. In this sense it can be asserted that the concept of socialism as a social system presupposes the existence of a number of "models" (variants) of development that can be advanced in relation to one and the same country or group of countries for one period or various periods of time.

The recognition of various models of socialism stems not only from the existence of diverse objective economic, political, and spiritual preconditions for building socialism in individual countries, but also from different interpretations of the aims, content, and functions of the new system by historical forces. The history of socialism shows that its models vary within the wide limits that characterize both economic relations and society's political system. The main parameters characterizing these models are the degree of democratic participation by the masses in public life, the forms of socialist socialization of production, the extent of implementation of the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor," and the degree to which individual rights and freedoms are guaranteed and the working person enjoys social protection. The necessary basis for the socialist society is a high level of development of production forces.

According to Marx and Engels, at a given stage capitalism exhausts the potential of the commodity, market economy and state regulation, and gives way, under communism, to a noncommodity, stateless, self-managing means of organizing life. Only for a brief transitional period, they thought (until communist abundance, when "the sources of social wealth will begin to flow in a full stream"), will society preserve the practice of equivalent exchange on the basis of an equal measure—the quantity of labor—with the prevalence of social ownership of the main means of production. As for the political sphere, self-managing associations like the Paris Commune will preserve coercive force only in relation to the overthrown bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels believed that mediated (commodity and political) relations will be replaced by direct social ("transparent," "clearly intelligent") relations.

Lenin, accepting these ideas, also initially envisaged statehood only for a short time with a view to suppressing the exploiters, suggesting (in "State and Revolution") that it is possible to manage without a special administrative apparatus. However, by 1921-1923 V.I. Lenin was revising these ideas and exploring ways of creating a new model of socialism for Russia—with commodity-money relations and a strong but flexible state apparatus. He acknowledged that the country can be bound into a single whole either by a bureaucratic mechanism of noneconomic coercion, or by the market, which is a very unpleasant discovery for communists.

The main features of the new model of socialism outlined in Lenin's last works include:

- the use of the law of value and commodity-money relations within the framework of the state plan and in the interests of the working people;
- the principle of remuneration according to quantity and quality of labor;
- the permissibility of pluralism of socialist forms of ownership;
- recognition of the cooperative system as a form of socialist production;
- a "firm but flexible" state apparatus, without allowing bureaucracy to become a force in its own right; people's control over the bureaucracy;
- orientation toward the diversity of the working people's interests;
- the introduction of direct, horizontal links, not necessarily mediated by the state, between producers and citizens, and movement toward the formation of a socialist civil society;
- active participation by the working people in the management of state and social affairs;
- the consistent expansion of democracy;
- the just resolution of the nationalities question in the conditions of a multinational state.

Lenin's hopes for really profound changes in the economic and political system did not come true. The NEP [New Economic Policy] proved to be a brief phase. The "war communism" version of development was revived, in the form of the "Stalinist model of socialism." This model was based on the following propositions:

- the replacement of the socialization of the main means of production by their statization;
- the suppression of democratic forms of social life;
- despotism and tyranny of the "leader," relying on the support of the party and state apparatus, but in effect standing above the party and apparatus;
- administrative edict methods of coercive (noneconomic) organization of labor, up to and including state terror;

- a lack of capacity for self-correction, and especially for internal reforms, because of the absence of either economic or political (democratic) regulators of social life;
- a closed country and trends toward autarky in all spheres of life;
- ideological conformism and obedience on the part of the masses, dogmatism in science and culture.

Today we have set the task of cleansing socialism of deformations and returning to the real Leninist theoretical legacy. In this connection it must be noted that the return to the Leninist concept of socialism (of the NEP period) is by no means solely a "cleansing" process freeing socialism from Stalinist vulgarizations.

The fact is that the simplifications and distortions of Stalinist times by no means ceased to exist in the Brezhnev years. The only difference was the degree of fear and the system of means of achieving administrative aims. All this created an alienation of the individual from ownership, from power, and from the results of his labor.

Ridding society of the former vision of socialism is no easy task, because not only in Stalinist works, but in all the mass media and, most important, in the furthest depths of the ordinary mass consciousness, socialism was conceived precisely as it was created by the end of the thirties, that is, as a system with two forms of ownership (state and collective farm-cooperative), rigid centralized planning, administrative decree management, extremely curtailed economic accountability, and insufficiently developed commodity-money relations.

In the course of recent decades the quest for new, alternative paths of socialist development has characterized a number of countries. Despite a certain lack of consistency in this quest, countries have with varying degrees of energy and political will sought the creation of a multisector economy (with state, cooperative, private, and mixed sectors), the development of market regulators and competition, openness to world economic influences and involvement in the international division of labor, the creation of a civil society with a diversity of interests and a rule-of-law state, the development of democracy, political pluralism up to and including the recognition of a multiparty system, and spiritual freedom, including ideological freedom. Experience shows that this path is complex and uneven. It leads, on the one hand, to a substantial increase in the population's living standard, the expansion of the masses' creative initiative and activeness, the emancipation of the individual, and the improvement of political and spiritual culture. At the same time, in the course of the transition to this model, society sees a marked intensification in social differentiation, the growth of internal contradictions, the emergence of the possibility of political instability, the exacerbation of employment problems, the growth of opposition trends, and so forth. However, all these problems are ultimately capable of being resolved.

As for the society that is dominated by the administrative edict system, it is characterized by such purely negative phenomena as the tyranny of the authorities and the lack of rights for the individual, a low living standard for the working people, the leveling down of interests, and the closed society. Stagnation, the embalming of the political regime and leadership, and the inability to become involved in the processes of the world economy and culture.

One cannot but note the attempts that have arisen in a number of countries (including ours) to combine the advantages (real and illusory) of various models of development. Many contradictions arise from this in the quest: slow progress through the stages, delays in development, and lack of political resolution; the introduction of economic and market mechanisms at microlevel along with the preservation of the edict economy centrally; the desire for spiritual freedoms combined with opposition to political demarcations; the expansion of glasnost at the same time as persecution for criticism, and so forth. These contradictory features are characteristic to some degree of the present stage of perestroika in the USSR too.

In the world socialist system as a whole, active changes are taking place in the direction of a democratic model of socialism. This promotes, in particular, the eradication of the former antagonisms between communism and social democracy and widens the opportunities for international cooperation and the exchange of practical experience between various countries in ensuring a high living standard and protecting the working people's interests.

It is only possible to give socialism a modern face and open up new prospects for it on the basis of the analysis of the advantages and shortcomings of established models of socialism. In order to fulfill this task it is necessary also to look at the socialist society in comparison with the modern capitalist social structure and see socialism against the general background of mankind's world development.

II.

Capitalism is the socioeconomic system with which socialism is always compared, and in confrontation with which the uniqueness of socialism as a social system develops. At the same time capitalism is also a source of new forms of social relations that are born within it, including forms that, by their nature, accord with the working people's interests and could be utilized in a socialist society.

Mention has been made repeatedly in Soviet literature of the significant flaws in market relations under capitalism—the periodical disruption of the stability of economic development, the socially unjust distribution system, the supremacy of the interests of monopolies over the interests of society, and so forth. Nonetheless the

market economy of capitalism has great potential. Competition makes production units vie with each other to obtain orders. In the process of rivalry, along with the collapse of the weaker and less enterprising units, an improvement takes place in output quality, because the quality of goods is the decisive prerequisite for holding on to the market and obtaining new orders. Hence the intensification of production and the desire to cut manpower costs by any available means.

With a view to compensating for spontaneous market forces, in all the industrially developed capitalist countries the state levers of economic management—state enterprise and regulation—were substantially expanded in the 20th century. As a result state monopoly capitalism grew up. The economic mechanism combining market and state forms of capitalist economic management produced tangible economic results. Capitalism was able to "harness" the technological revolution, begin a structural restructuring of the entire production mechanism, and ensure intensive growth.

However, in the second half of the seventies, in the majority of industrially developed capital countries, the amplitude of the economic oscillations increased with every cycle; inflation processes developed, accompanied by the growth of unemployment; processes of emergence of new markets came to a standstill; the growth of investments and labor productivity slowed down. It became obvious that in the new development spiral, the state itself was acting as an instability factor, although its intervention in the economy had hitherto been regarded as a universal panacea. One reason for this paradoxical development was the progressive bureaucratization that fettered economic life in the majority of developed capitalist countries. It is therefore no accident that many countries began to implement measures to restrict state intervention in economic life. These measures include the reduction of the number of economic functions exercised directly by the state and the revision of economic legislation providing for excessive regulation. Privatization was also practiced widely—selling to private individuals or associations the means of production that are in state hands. True, the optimum correlation between state intervention in economic processes and free market forms has yet to be found.

Evaluations of modern capitalism in our literature are often marked by an excessive absolutization of capitalism's principle of economic efficiency. But the class of capitalists, having an interest not only in profit, but also in the preservation and strengthening of their own domination, cannot totally ignore social factors for stability. In this context great significance came to be attached to the system of "social amortization" developed in many capitalist countries, which provides for the redistribution of part of the national income with a view to lessening the negative effect of the class and material differentiation of society on social relations. By the seventies, in many countries of developed capitalism, as a result of the working people's prolonged and staunch

struggle for their rights, systems of pensions, unemployment insurance, and health care had grown up, based on shared financing from contributions by the insured, businesses, and the state. Here much was borrowed from the socialist countries' experience.

In the late seventies, because of financial difficulties, it became impossible to ensure the further growth of social expenditure. The new economic situation pushed into the background the dominating class' interest in maintaining effective demand by means of social expenditure. As a result, by the beginning of the eighties in the majority of developed capitalist countries the proportion of social expenditure had stabilized or fallen.

In the last decade there have been major changes in the social structure of the developed capitalist society, the first manifestation of which was the "employment crisis." The main reason was the increasingly intensive transfer of social production to a new, labor-saving technological basis and the replacement of simple labor by complex labor.

In assessing modern capitalism we should take full account of the level of internationalization of capital and production. One manifestation of this process is the rapid growth in transnational monopoly capital. The internationalization of production was stimulated by the wide proliferation of flexible automation, which makes it possible to carry out rapid readjustment to produce small series. This opened up the possibility of creating highly automated production units. The previously existing need to create extremely large enterprises in individual countries thus recedes.

The present-day level of information technology is such that the possibility exists of managing from a single center enterprises located in different countries and regions of the capitalist world, managing them according to a single plan by obtaining information on production and sales and a full picture of the profitability and viability of production in every sector via computers and modern optical and space communications systems, and taking decisions on adjustments to the general production and sales plan on a global scale.

All this gives the transnational corporations radically new opportunities compared with those that exist for conventional national enterprises, however large. The transnational corporations have the opportunity to site production where it is advantageous to them, without heeding national limits or borders.

III.

The fundamental differences between socialism and capitalism are determined by the forms of ownership and the nature of political power. For all these differences the two socioeconomic formations belong to one and the same human civilization. The earth's civilization in the

late 20th century, for all its regional variations, is characterized by the commonality of a number of technological, socioeconomic, political, and cultural features and characteristics, including: a comparable level of industrial development; the utilization of diverse forms of commodity-money relations and certain similar principles of social organization; recognition of the need to protect the individual's rights. A growing desire can be observed to tackle jointly the global problems of today: protection of the environment, prevention of nuclear conflict, international security, the struggle against economic backwardness, hunger, disease, and so forth.

The following can be identified as the main problems facing the world community, for all the continuing differences between capitalism and socialism:

- development of the economy on the basis of intensification of production;
- the desire to achieve high labor productivity;
- the effective combination of state regulation and the development of commodity-market relations;
- integration and internationalization of production;
- social protection of citizens; democratization of life;
- recognition of the role of common human values, development of culture.

All these problems are common to the whole of civilization and spring from the present level of society's development. The integral, interdependent nature of the modern world, the paramountcy of the common human interests of survival over class interests, the common demand for the humanization of social life at every national and international level, the sober analysis of global problems, the quest for new paths of progress—all this has posed in an entirely new way all the major issues of the development of human civilization.

Common interests and views come to the fore (on questions of peace and security, ecology, human rights, national and regional development, and so forth). In this context the basis of the rapprochement between the two social systems in the organization of their internal life and their culture and mentality consists in such manifestations of present and future civilization as fullness and accessibility of information, integrated transport and information communications, an integrated system of international trade, the common understanding and protection of the individual's rights and interests, and the elimination and prevention of war.

While holding firm to historical materialist positions, we must take a new look at the problems of civilizations and formations in the modern world. Alongside the preservation of substantial national differences and differences of system and the unique features of different states and peoples, the outlines are emerging increasingly clearly of a civilized community, the growth of its interdependence and shared interests, and the strengthening of mutually advantageous cooperation, peace, and the humanization

of all aspects of social life. Neither capitalism nor socialism exists in a vacuum, they are two different parts of one mankind. It could be said that the humanization of social relations is not a chance, temporary trend, but a general and permanent trend in the development of mankind as a single civilization. Each formation is only a stage in this development. In this process socialism takes in all that is best in modern civilization.

At the same time it should not be forgotten that socialism is a transitional stage toward communism, not the final result of development. In this connection it is clear that socialism can have no final, ossified, canonized features identifying it as an isolated formation; rather, there are the developing signs (trends) of the future society and transitional forms toward the highest stage of civilization. And here the need arises to formulate a fuller, more comprehensive concept of the socialist society and its new face, for which we strive.

Semipalatinsk Safety Measures Under Investigation

PM1707114789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by special correspondent N. Sautin: "No Danger to People Assert Scientists Present at Testing of Nuclear Weapons Near Semipalatinsk"]

[Text] Kurchatov, Semipalatinsk Oblast—As the press has already reported, a routine nuclear explosion was carried out 8 July at the testing range in the Semipalatinsk region with a view to improving military equipment. The TASS information on this event again ended with the usual lines: "The radiation situation in the testing region and beyond the testing range is normal."

But letters from readers to IZVESTIYA from Semipalatinsk and Pavlodar oblasts, speeches by people's deputies at the Congress, and meetings in Alma-Ata attest to the distrust which many Kazakhstan inhabitants have toward these reports. Instances are cited of illness among the population in regions adjacent to the testing range and of the Defense Ministry's concealment of dangerous radioactive waste gases....

On the eve of the recent nuclear test our special correspondent traveled to the region near Semipalatinsk. Here is what he reported.

The boundaries of the testing range are not marked by barriers or barbed wire. Indeed, how can you fence in a territory of 18,540 square kilometers? Only a few objects, the equipment and testing grounds with buildings, are guarded by sentries. There is nothing like earth which has been burned or blasted from within by a nuclear tornado. There is the even green steppe, haycocks, and flocks of sheep grazing.... The local authorities have been allowed to use nearly one-third of the testing range for agricultural crops....

"This is the 20th year I have been serving at the testing range," Lieutenant Colonel S. Smagulov says. "I am now in charge of the radiation safety department. I go to all the tests. I have to work at the very epicenter of the explosion. I can no longer remember how many I have seen during my service. Critical moments? There haven't been any. The tests undergo lengthy preparations and all options are envisaged."

Smagulov had just returned from what is for him an ordinary mission—he had been taking samples of the near-earth air stratum on the territory adjacent to the Semipalatinsk testing range. He was working in a group which, in addition to himself, included scientists S. Turanin from the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Health Institute of Oncology and Radiology, Ye. Dmitriyev from the State Committee for Hydrometeorology, and V. Deriglazov, deputy chief physician at the USSR Ministry of Health No. 4 dispensary. This dispensary was created in Semipalatinsk to render aid to those who had received radiation. So far no one has yet needed this aid.

S. Turanin believes that the existing regime for conducting underground nuclear explosions rules out radiation consequences for the population. The same conclusion was reached by an extradepartmental commission for studying the ecological situation in Semipalatinsk Oblast under the chairmanship of A. Tsyba, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences.

Nonetheless, the question of closing down the testing range was directly raised at the Congress of People's Deputies. I shall cite the reply given to the anxious query from deputies from Altay Krai by Defense Minister D. Yazov and Ye. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

"...Through the Soviet Union's efforts, in recent years a military-strategic parity has been achieved which reliably guarantees the Soviet people's peaceful labor. The subsequent implementation of nuclear tests in the USSR is the result of the need to maintain the nuclear combat supplies in a state of combat readiness and to improve them. The USSR's unilateral cessation of the improvement of nuclear weapons could lead to the disruption of the existing parity in this field and to unpredictable catastrophic consequences.

"...The state of health of the population in the adjacent oblasts as a whole is in line with the all-union state of health. It is more influenced by chemical pollution of the environment by local enterprises, the inadequate organization of medical services in the oblast, and other socioconsumer factors for which the adoption of urgent measures is required.

"...The program of nuclear tests at the Semipalatinsk range envisages a reduction in the number of tests and their yield...."

Scientists, the public, and journalists were invited to a nuclear experiment last Saturday [8 July]. A device with a yield of up to 20 kilotons was exploded at a depth of 0.5 km. Each of the people invited could see for himself the total lack of radiation danger. And experts are investigating the radiation situation even now. They are taking soil, milk, and water and biological samples. The results of their laboratory studies will be made public at a scientific conference to be held in Semipalatinsk 16 July. We will report the scientists' final results to our readers. Only then can we say definitely whether the underground nuclear explosions today are dangerous to people's health.

News Analyst Comments on East-West Interaction
LD0508082989 Moscow TASS in English 0531 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, August 5 TASS—"It would seem that the East and the West, as they were formed in the post-war period, should know each other if not perfectly well then rather solidly. Today, however, they are opening, as it were, to each other anew," Vladlen Kuznetsov, PRAVDA's news analyst, writes today.

"The sides are now shedding outdated views, opening in themselves and in others similar features and resources of mutual understanding. Total alienation is left behind. Ahead is less prejudiced familiarization and more productive search for accord."

In this regard the author points out that such quests are under way in each community and between them. New tones are heard from the headquarters of the military-political alliances. In its May declaration the North Atlantic bloc proclaimed as its long-term objective the assertion of a new model of relations between Eastern and Western countries, under which ideological and military antagonism will give place to cooperation, trust and peaceful competition, and under which human rights and political freedoms will be totally guaranteed and accessible to all.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states, in the statement adopted at the July Bucharest conference, also declared for relations of a new type, without confrontation and confrontational doctrines, and for partnership in interstate contacts. The visits of Mikhail Gorbachev to West Germany and France, George Bush—to Poland and Hungary, although the delicate, as the U.S. President himself put it, mission was marked by the so-called differentiated approach aimed at the stratification of the socialist community, helped lessen differences in views and approaches. [sentence as received]

"Until recently, the strategies of states and their alliances were built on rivalry, on the 'challenge-response' principle. Time has come now to build them on interaction and aim them at the search for common answers to the historic challenges of the time. From counteraction to interaction—only this swing in the frame of mind of the

East and the West can alleviate the lot of our globe which suffers from militarism, underdevelopment, debts, and disturbance in the harmony with the environment", the news analyst writes.

Gorbachev Donates Royalties to Children's Center
LD0508180189 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT
5 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 5 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev transferred 350,000 dollars from royalties collected for his book PERESTROIKA: NEW THINKING FOR OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD published abroad. The donation will be used for a children's medical centre under construction in Irkutsk (eastern Siberia). Soviet Public Health Minister Yevgeniy Chazov told TASS that the money will be spent to purchase medical equipment.

Gorbachev's choice is attributed to the fact that the situation with medical services in Siberia, above all for children, is more difficult than in the country's European part. It was decided to set up several major centres there. A children's clinic centre in Irkutsk will be among the first. A local hospital is now being fully refurbished for it.

Chzov said that mother and child protected was put on the priority list during restructuring in the public health system. Along with a steep overall increase in appropriations for public health, nearly half the funds are now allocated for mother and child care. Children's hospitals and maternity wards for 30,000 beds were put into operation in the past two years. Unprecedented purchases of medical instrumentation and equipment for primary resuscitation of infants and other technology were made abroad.

Several health-building centres which previously served top executives were handed over for children's medical services at the initiative of the party leadership and the Soviet Government. The former government health-building centres Pushkino and Tetkovo were turned into mother and child health-building centres. An all-union children's medical centre is being established instead of villas for high-ranking foreign guests situated in Moscow region.

Hospitals for top executives in the city of Ivanovo, central part of the Russian Federation, in Yerevan, Armenia, the building of the regional party committee under construction in Lvov, western Ukraine, and several administrative buildings in Uzbekistan were handed over for children's clinics. There are such examples galore.

Former Soviet of Union Chairman Tolkunov Dies
PM1807093789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jul 89 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of L.N. Tolkunov]

[Excerpts] Lev Nikolayevich Tolkunov, prominent figure of Soviet journalism and Soviet building and personal pensioner of union status, died on 13 July 1989.

L.N. Tolkunov was born into an office worker's family at Bukreyevka station in Kursk Oblast on 22 January 1919. [passage omitted]

From 1957 through 1965, L.N. Tolkunov held a number of responsible posts in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and in October 1965 was appointed chief editor of IZVESTIYA. It was there that Lev Nikolayevich Tolkunov's talent as a current affairs journalist and organizer and his remarkable personal qualities were displayed particularly forcefully. His contribution to the establishment of the Leninist foundations of party current affairs journalism in the Soviet press was considerable.

From 1976 through 1983 L.N. Tolkunov was chairman of the board of the NOVOSTI Press Agency and then became chief editor of IZVESTIYA again. From 1984 through 1988 he was chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union. [Passage omitted]

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, A.I. Lukyanov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Ye.M. Primakov, R.N. Nishanov, I.D. Laptev, V.G. Afansayev, A.I. Vlasov, A.S. Kapto, Ye.Z. Razumov, N.F. Rubtsov, V.N. Sevruck, V.A. Arkhangelskiy, N.N. Golembiovskiy, L.K. Korneshov, V.A. Syronomskiy, A.I. Druzenko, and Yu.F. Yefremov.

USSR Creates Aviation Safety Foundation
18290239 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "During the Landing Approach...."]

[Text] An Aviation Safety Foundation [USSR FAB] has been created in the Soviet Union.

The election of its board took place. These are officials of the MGA [Ministry of Civil Aviation], the USSR Ministry of Defense, and USSR Gosavianadzor [State Aviation Inspection]. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA commentator Gennadiy Bocharov has also been elected a member of the board.

The entire world aviation community seeks concepts and methods for preventing aviation accidents. The FAB has the same goals. One of them is the involvement of the Soviet aviation community in the world community of aviators, and making use of the experience of the organization of air traffic in the most developed countries. We cite lines from a letter to Valeriy Shelkovnikov, FAB president, chief of the MGA Central Air Traffic Administration, from John (Endor), president of the World Flight Safety Foundation: "We welcome the opportunity to work with the USSR FAB... Adding the Soviet Union's experience in matters of aviation safety to our existing enormous experience on a global scale will be useful for everyone. Our foundation is also prepared to assist you in all ways..." The USSR Foundation for Social Products, which has already implemented a number of important programs, was a founder of the FAB.

Thus, we all want to hear as infrequently as possible the report, "Yesterday, during the landing approach...."

Citizen Diplomacy Foundation Established
LD0408042189 Moscow TASS in English 2258 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—A new public organization, Citizen diplomacy foundation, was set up in the Soviet capital on Thursday [3 August].

It was founded by Soviet public, state, cooperative and joint-stock organizations and foreign firms and individuals.

The founders include the Soviet fund of Social Inventions, the Soviet Peace Committee, the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY, the publishing department of the Moscow Patriarchy, and the firm "Italo-Soviet Initiatives".

Architect Valeriy Ganiyev was elected chairman of the foundation's board.

The foundation's objective will be to boost non-governmental political, humanitarian and business contacts between organizations and institutions in the Soviet Union and other countries.

The new organization plans to create parts of friendship in various cities around the world and implement its "Arabian nights" program which provides for construction of centres for Soviet and foreign tourists on the Soviet section of the "Silk Road" in central Asia.

Academy of Sciences Hosts Meeting 12 Jul
PM1707095189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "Association Instituted"]

[Text] A meeting of scientists, journalists, and public figures engaged in global problems of the present day was held 12 July at the USSR Academy of Sciences Systems Research Scientific Research Institute and instituted the Soviet National Association for Assisting the Club of Rome.

The aim of this new public organization is to develop the principles of the new thinking as applied to problems of world development.

Academician D.M. Gvishiani was elected president of the association.

People's Front Aims for Latvian Independence
LD0408211989 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish
1600 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] The Latvian People's Front aims for Latvia's total political independence, Edvins Inkens, a delegate to the new Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, said in Helsinki today [4 August]. During his visit, Inkens met Ilkka Kanerva, minister of the chancellery, and representatives of different parties. According to Inkens, the new declaration of economic independence is only a beginning for political independence.

Latvian Supreme Soviet Chairman Recovering
LD0308084789 Riga CINA in Latvian 21 Jul 89 p 4

[Text] After the initial news given already in the 18 July issue of the CINA on the state of health of our Supreme Soviet Presidium's chairman, Anatolijis Gorbunovs, after my conversation yesterday with a doctor at the Kremlin Hospital in charge of the case I am able to give the interested public the following more exact and additional information:

Comrade A. Gorbunovs entered the Linezera Iela Hospital of Riga on Tuesday 11 July 1989 with an increased temperature and headache. Highly qualified specialists of the republic found him to be suffering from a virus infection with a two-wave course without damage to the central nervous system, which was also confirmed by consultants from Moscow summoned on 12 July. After consultation the consultants and with A. Gorbunovs himself agreeing, he was taken for further treatment to Moscow.

At present the state of health of A. Gorbunovs is satisfactory; the headache has ceased, temperature has become normal, and the symptoms of asthenization caused by the virus are gradually disappearing. There are grounds to expect that after 2-3 weeks he could be well.

[Signed] Igors Veselovs, head of No 4 administration of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Health, candidate of medical sciences.

Lithuanian Poles' Desires for Autonomy Protested
PM1807084189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 23 Jun 89 p 3

["Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium Statement"—SOVETSKAYA LITVA headline]

[Text] Recently the Supreme Soviet, management bodies, the republic's public organizations and movements, and USSR people's deputies, supported by an absolute majority of the population, have been striving by democratic means for Lithuania's political, economic, and cultural independence. A constructive change in public, economic, social, and legal relations and their humanization are possible only if the political situation is stable, society is tranquil, and the efforts of Lithuanians and people of

different nationalities are united in the name of the well-being created by their own intellect and hands, in the name of democracy, freedom, and happiness.

The national relations which have taken shape in the republic should not be overdramatized, but it would be a great political mistake to fail to see and to underestimate the tension and the divergence between national interests which are emerging in some places. The "territorial autonomy" for Poles declared in some villages in Shalchininkskiy and Vilnyusskiy Rayons and the demand to form an autonomous oblast for Poles worry the public. The lack of restraint and correctness and the disregard for the realities of history and the present testify to the irresponsibility and political shortsightedness of this campaign's organizers, hinder the democratization of national relations, and create a pretext for confrontation. The valid question arises as to whether national interests are being misinterpreted, or whether deliberate attempts are being made to wreck perestroika's democratic progress.

The decisions adopted by some village soviets in Shalchininkskiy and Vilnyusskiy Rayons on proclaiming the "autonomy of Polish national villages" contravene the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution and the laws regulating the competence of local soviets, and so are invalid. Especially as such declarations, which have no legislative force, as is well known, are completely unnecessary, since the Poles' cultural autonomy is a reality today, and this natural phenomenon should be encouraged and developed in every possible way. This particularly applies to the development of the social infrastructure of rayons in the Vilnius region and to improving the satisfaction of local inhabitants' material and spiritual needs.

These aims should be achieved not by propagandizing national exclusivity and isolation but by uniting the efforts of representatives of all the nationalities living in the republic and ensuring socioeconomic progress. Well paid labor, appropriate working conditions, well organized daily life, and proper rest—Lithuanians, Poles, Russians, Belorussians, Jews, and Tatars alike, indeed, everyone living in Lithuania under the same sky, need all this just as much as clean air, clean water, fertile soil, and green forests.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, guided by the concept of the rule-of-law state and the interests of the Lithuanian people and representatives of other peoples living in Lithuania, is firmly convinced that the legislative way is the only correct and democratic way to solve problems of national relations. Life dictates the need to prepare a Lithuanian SSR law on nationalities this year. This law must regulate the legal status of the national minorities living in the republic and guarantee their free and equal development, the normal functioning of national schools, cultural institutions, and publications and news media, and the use of the native

language. The representation of national minorities in local soviets, and also in the Supreme Soviet must also be defined in the document being prepared.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has set up a working group to prepare the draft law. It includes representatives of the nationalities living in Lithuania, scientists, lawyers, and figures from public organizations. The draft law will be published for public discussion.

A single and indivisible republican territory and radical perestroika of socioeconomic policy for society's good must unite all Lithuania's inhabitants. Perestroika's progressive forces, honest and industrious workers and peasants, and the intelligentsia of all nationalities must be aware of their responsibility and use all their prestige, influence, and intellectual power in developing amicable relations among all people living in Lithuania, which would guarantee the successful and irreversible creation of a democratic and humane society.

Ukrainian 'Nostalgia' for Stagnation Criticized
PM0508183189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent N. Mironov article: "Nostalgia for Stagnation? Notes From a Party Aktiv Meeting"]

[Text] Zaporozhye City—How quickly our views change nowadays! It seems that only recently everyone was waiting impatiently for change. And the word "perestroika" was invariably spoken with enthusiasm. But as soon as the problems accumulated over the decades were revealed, some people's enthusiasm began to melt away before our very eyes. A note of doubt crept into the word "perestroika," and some people's recollections of the era of stagnation no longer sound as pessimistic as they did before.

Surprising? Perhaps not. The stagnation is still fresh in our memory. There were no ration coupons for goods in short supply or strikes and demonstrations. There were apparently never any accidents. And although store shelves did not groan under the weight of produce, people can remember when everyone's refrigerator at home was not empty. The main thing is that there were apparently no grounds for concern. Everyone knew their place and lived according to their station. People did not grumble. Maybe some grumbled inwardly. People spoke their minds in the kitchen. But who could hear it?

In short, the old order suited many. Even now some people regrets its passing. How peaceful life was in those days! But what about now?

Recently such nostalgia for the past suddenly spilled over from informal conversations onto the rostrum. And not the rostrum at any old unsanctioned rally but at an oblast party aktiv meeting held in Zaporozhye. And although the agenda was topical—"On the Tasks of the Oblast's Party Organizations in Improving Party Political Work

Under Present-Day Conditions"—some speakers during the debate were unable to disguise their yearning for times past. They made no secret of it: "The term 'stagnation era' must be removed from our vocabulary"; "One more local soviet election campaign and all we will be left with is those who can criticize!"; and "We will soon lose our people's reputation for being the most submissive."

It is already been lost. But why grieve over this? Perhaps we should rejoice? If our people have started speaking out, they have obviously begun to feel that they are in control.

In the days preceding the aktiv meeting, the oblast newspaper INDUSTRIALNOYE ZAPOROZHYE asked its readers to answer four questions:

1. What, in your view, are the most important changes in the work of your collective's party organization?
2. Which problems, in your opinion, should party organizations particularly focus on solving?
3. What, in your opinion, should be done to enhance the party organization's prestige?
4. What do you understand by political methods of party work in modern conditions?

Readers responded actively. And the newspaper published some of their replies. We will cite the most typical answers. In reply to the first question most people stated that there had been no changes in their party organizations' work. That the "leaders" wait for instructions from above, and that hypocrisy and subservience flourish among leading personnel.

Answering the second and third questions on the questionnaire, people focused attention on the totally unsuitable selection of cadres. Particularly at the grassroots management level of foremen, trade union organizers, party group organizers, and labor collective council members. Here are some short quotations: "There should be 'honest' people rather than people whose 'faces fit'"; "We should get rid of careerists, windbags, people who abuse alcohol, and people who are morally tarnished."

"There should be fewer slogans and more action," writes T. Morshak, a worker at Mobile Mechanized Column No 238 in Melitopol. "We need to go out among the people and explain the prevailing situation to them in order to ensure that others do not exploit our weaknesses, as has been the case in other parts of the country. It is now time to act in all areas. As V.I. Lenin said, delay is fatal. Those who are weak and incapable of leading the people should be expelled from the party."

Where do these "weak" and "incapable" people come from? Quite a typical example in this connection was cited by Communist A. Zakharova, who has worked all

her life at the Dnepr Hydroelectric Power Station. "The report and election meeting elected the bureau and its secretary V. Lushchenko, who, despite the fact that 'the ink was not yet dry' on the cancellation of his reprimand and the endorsement of his party card, was, at the proposal of N. Kotlyuba, first secretary of Leninskiy Rayon Committee [raykom], recommended and later elected at the rayon conference as a member of the party raykom. But after a while the entitlement to a paid full-time secretary was withdrawn from our party organization. Comrade Lushchenko was straightaway elected shop chief, and he now believes that he cannot do both jobs and has therefore resigned as secretary. To replace him, without consultation with the party organization, the party bureau elected his deputy, Comrade Temnyy (equipment safety inspector), who was promised that the entitlement to a paid full-time secretary would be restored—something which Communists were only informed about at the party meeting."

And, finally, there are the definite and unambiguous answers to the last question on the questionnaire. "The party's political methods of work should be based not on commands but on conviction. Not by supplanting or arrogating administrative and economic functions, but through like-minded people, be they Communists or nonparty people. And not by appointments, but by democratic means."

Because of the lack of space in the newspaper I will not cite any more answers to the questionnaire, even though I admit it is hard not to. They are so apt and mature. But, after all, "ordinary" people answered the questionnaire. Not a single leader, even a middle-level leader, wanted to state his opinion.

It was reasonable to expect that readers' answers would be at the center of attention of both the main speaker and the other speakers. The agenda was conducive to that. And, indeed, oblast committee [obkom] First Secretary G. Kharchenko started with their replies. He quoted figures. But then he somehow forgot this and went off on a tangent. The speakers in the debate also forgot about the questionnaires. Was this an accident? I think not. After all, in commenting on other people's answers, they would have had to give answers themselves. In the course of many years we have grown used to something else—people lecturing their subordinates rather than giving accounts of their own behavior. Suddenly the situation has changed. The "grassroots" have refused to silently listen to criticism. Recognizing their own shortcomings, they have pointed the finger at their party leader, the raykom secretary, the rayon soviet executive committee secretary, and other leaders working alongside.

"We will not let ourselves be defamed!" was their reply. "Are we the ones who are working badly?! What would you have done without us?"

The rostrum at the oblast party aktiv meeting was in constant use. Speakers marched up one after another, and by no means to self-critically analyze their own work but to make demands of the CPSU Central Committee. "If the party apparatus is necessary, it should be defended." "The general secretary is calling on us not to panic. He says it is inevitable. This position is incomprehensible... No, we should rebuff the indiscriminate defamation of the party. We are the ones who will be guilty of everything." The phrases in quotation marks are from the speech by V. Petrenko, first secretary of Priazovskiy party raykom.

And he was not alone. L. Anisimov, party committee secretary at the "Zaporozhstal" Combine, demanded that the concept of the "period of stagnation" be removed from our vocabulary. Just what is happening, he asked the auditorium. People do not listen to leaders' speeches. "Certain decisions from the center have been compromised. The workers say that they do not trust Gorbachev. And how can they understand decisions when everything that has been done has been defamed and besmirched." "We should send Gorbachev a delegation of workers," he finally proposed. "Let them look each other in the face."

I think that the speaker must know of M.S. Gorbachev's numerous meetings with working people in various parts of the country. Did Anisimov ask the opinion of the workers themselves when he made his proposal? But those of them who spoke at the aktiv meeting said something quite different. Here, for instance, is what miners team leader G. Alekseyev said:

"There were many bland phrases in today's report. There was nothing specific and there were few names. Whenever oblast leaders visit us they too avoid specifics and look for shortcomings in us. Why do they come? To lecture us! Why do they avoid resolving matters themselves?"

Alekseyev said that on this, the fourth time he had spoken from such a rostrum, he was insisting that it should be written into a resolution that the Dneprorudnoye Construction Trust must finally start constructing social facilities—that is, fulfilling the role for which it was originally set up. The trust builds what it likes throughout the oblast, but not housing for miners who have been waiting for housing for 17 years.

Here is what another worker—V. Galushchenko, welder at the "Zaporozhtransformator" Association, said:

"Obkom secretaries may change but things in our oblast stay the same. Even today 70-80 percent of party cadres are former economic managers who do not know how to work with people."

There are very important grounds for the proposals from Communist workers to the leaders of the oblast's party organs to take a more critical look at themselves and

their organizational work with primary party organizations. Take the most acute problem—providing the population with food. The situation has been getting worse with every passing year. What explanations can oblast leaders give the people in this connection? They claim that the plans for food shipments to all-union and republic stocks are too high and that our production growth cannot keep up with these plans.

At first sight this is true. But when you look at it in detail it is just part of the truth. After all, it says nothing about the fact that more intensive growth in food production requires that work be better organized. How is it organized? Currently, at the height of the summer it is a real problem buying vegetables in Zaporozhye. By no means because they are not grown. People are unable to organizing the harvesting and shipment of vegetables from the fields. And this is not the first year this has happened.

The oblast meat procurement plan for the half-year has been fulfilled. But at what cost? By cutting the numbers of cattle and poultry. Where were numbers reduced most of all? On farms in Priazovskiy Rayon. The same rayon where V. Petrenko—who was more indignant than anyone at the aktiv meeting about being "criticized for nothing"—works as raykom first secretary.

The oblast failed to cope with the plan for milk production in the 1st 6 months. The amount of milk obtained was 4,675 tonnes less than last year. Where can you get milk in the stores?

Many problems demand attention and require that party committees work out a specific program of immediate action. But there is no such program as yet. On the other hand, A. Prichkin, party obkom second secretary, put forward his theoretical views of perestroika:

"We must draw serious, global, theoretical, and practical conclusions from the realities of the day. It is now very important for the working class and the party to help the general secretary to regain his former innate sense of realism in assessing political and socioeconomic processes and their development trends.

"Clearly, implementing profound transformations in the political superstructure without altering basic economic relations—which is what has happened—is a deviation from practical Marxism-Leninism, given the high level of development of productive forces," he said. "The party is being ideologically disarmed. Ideals are being eroded. But how can society live without ideals?"

We have already heard nostalgia for lost principles. Admittedly, more from "theoreticians." Now we are hearing nostalgia from certain practical people. Perhaps they are saying these things because the practice of perestroika is not to their liking? After all, perestroika demands from them independence of action and a profound conviction that there is a tremendous need for it. They are not used to working without "instructions."

"Pinning the blame on local party organs, as Khrushchev did at the end of his career, could result in bad political consequences," S. Pugach, first secretary of Tokmak party city committee [gorkom], warned. "And the appeal at the USSR Supreme Soviet session not to elect current leaders to local soviets could have the same result."

"We are not confused about the future elections. We are being deliberately persecuted!" A. Nepomnyashchiy, second secretary of Zaporozhye party gorkom, exclaimed.

In reply to these speakers I would cite yet another worker's statement. Here is what N. Tyulenev, machine operator at the pumping station at the plant named for the 50th anniversary of the USSR, said:

"The party leadership and the administration have chosen to stifle criticism—they do not hear anything, see anything, or react to anything. Their main talent has always been and continues to be to serve their own interests and sing their own praises without worrying about what is really important. The party organization must organize perestroika from the bottom up, otherwise real perestroika is entirely impossible."

So working people are proposing to start perestroika from the bottom up. Others—leading workers?!—are scared of this. They are asking the Central Committee to protect them from "attacks," "otherwise the Central Committee risks losing support at local level."

Losing whose support? That's the question!

Yes, the "good old" days, when work for party committees meant moralizing from rostrums and issuing orders from above, and the silence of the audience was taken to mean consent, are over. And let us hope they will not return. Although many people lament their passing. Do they really want to move everyone else to pity and increase the chorus of "mourners"?

Moldavian Celebrations, Mourning Viewed

LD1707105889 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 2 Jul 89 p 3

[Excerpts] Kishinev and other towns in the republic were full of rumors in the days preceding last Sunday [25 June]. People were expecting something terrible; it was going to be like it Fergana—better get out of town.... So obviously the streets in the center of the capital were empty in the early hours on Sunday. "The town seems dead today", observed a bus driver surprisedly as he drove up Lenin Avenue. But the center of town livened up in the afternoon and by 1400 Victory Square was full of people.

Let us say right away that there was no carnage or hooliganism. The Popular Front's [PF] meeting, which was sanctioned by the city executive committee, was well organized and ran precisely on schedule. I. Khadyrke, PF

Council Executive Committee member and USSR people's deputy, opened the meeting and called for order, discipline, and calm at the very start. The main theme of the meeting was Stalinism and its consequences for the destiny of the Moldavian people. [passage omitted]

Did the speakers in the square, however discuss only national renaissance? Did only language issues "pain" and excite those at the meeting? The slogans proclaimed: "The authority of the people is higher than the authority of the party"; and "freedom is not requested, freedom is obtained"; "Occupation" is how the people in the square described 1940. The only occupation is the Russian occupation, concluded one of the speakers. During the repression years, added another, trains carried Moldavians out of the republic and brought in "internationalists" and that is still continuing. Is there any force capable of resolving the problems now facing us by peaceful means, asked the chairman. Yes, he answered: the Popular Front.

It is for the people to resolve questions of language, culture, and development of the area. It is for the people to decide whether to call their language Moldavian or Romanian. It is for the people to decide what social system suits them best and in what leadership to place their trust. But one thing comes to mind: We must not take the example of individuals to reach conclusions about the party as a whole, thus cancelling the lives, ideals, and struggle of thousands and thousands of honest, simple people. Individual leaders who have compromised themselves do not make up the whole party, just as 10,000 or 15,000 people in a square are not the whole people.

"Tell me", I asked a Moldavian friend and member of the Writers' Union, "what is the aim of the movement behind today's meeting? Is it to leave the Soviet Union?" "Looking quite a bit ahead, yes, I think it is", was the answer. [passage omitted]

What then does 28 June stand for? Is it a festive or a sorrowful date? Opinions today are sharply divided—people chanting "occupation" in the square at one end of the scale and the public, representatives of labor collectives preparing for the solemn meeting on 28 June at the other. The question is should one celebrate the restoration of Soviet power in the region or go around in sackcloth and ashes. For all intents and purposes, what is being expressed is doubt about the legitimacy of the existing regime. Many things are currently being reviewed in the country, and there are discussions not only of how we have lived but of how we are to live in the future. But history cannot be turned back. You cannot hide or wipe out half a century of life together, of common tasks and mistakes. Can we build a new home on the ashes? That has already happened. Popular wisdom and the lessons of history tell us to build without destroying.

Polarization of opinions, heated passions, and resentment overflowing in the region is the atmosphere in which we live. The way out of this lies in dialogue, a bridge which gains its strength in political methods and an aspiration for mutual understanding. But the methods must be truly political and the respect for the opinions of others must be real. Twenty-eight June in Kishnev has forced one to doubt this.

The street is decked out for a holiday. The town authorities, the public of the capital have gathered here according to tradition to mark an important date. There are red flags, colorful pennants, a small area for speakers, and lots of flowers—that is by day. But in the evening there are tri-coloured banners decked out for mourning. The paths to the "Oktombriye" [as published] Palace are closed off and the red flags have been hurled to the ground. There were no clashes. It all went off calmly. There were candles and mournful songs expressing pain and grief. There was sorrow for those who fell victim to Stalin's repressions, tyranny, and the grave unjust times. But nearby the red flag was being trampled into the ground. [passage omitted]

University Rector Downplays Authorship

PM1707093089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jul 89 First Edition p 8

[Letter from Sh. Papidze, rector of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee University of Marxism-Leninism: "To the PRAVDA Editorial Office"]

[Text] I consider it necessary to state that the chief author of the article "Federal Union" (PRAVDA, 12 July) was Doctor of Legal Sciences Professor N.A. Mikhaleva. I had an auxiliary role in this instance, which took the form of brief, purely theoretical reflections on certain leading principles of Leninist Soviet socialist federalism and the submission to the editorial office of certain verified and concise materials on our republic.

As for the rather lengthy materials on the Baltic republics, they come wholly and entirely from the pen of the esteemed N.A. Mikhaleva. [Signed] Sh. Papidze,

Rector of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee University of Marxism-Leninism.

New Industries Create Jobs in Fergana Region

LD0408205689 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT
4 Aug 89

[Text] Tashlak, Fergana Region, Uzbekistan, August 5 TASS—A sewing workshop which opened in Fergana collective farm on Friday [4 August] produced the first batch of linen for kindergartens and nurseries.

Collective farmers together with workers of the Tashlak clothing mill fitted out vacant premises for the workshop. Experienced instructors from the mill trained 40 young women in the new profession. The number of seamstresses in the workshop will double before the end of the year.

The June developments in Fergana which laid bare a number of acute social problems prompted an earnest effort to ensure the employment of the local population. Tens of new production units are being set up throughout the Valley, in accordance with a programme endorsed by the Uzbekistan Government, to produce fabrics, garments, knitwear, canned food, electrical fixtures, spare parts, building materials, and souvenirs.

The Uzbekistan ministries of the light and local industries, engineering and electro-technical plants, and consumers cooperatives open training courses for workers, supply equipment and begin to build small factories and workshops.

Not less than 100,000-120,000 new jobs will be created in Andijan, Namangan and Feraana regions in the coming two years.

The republic will receive a considerable part of machine tools, production equipment, and raw materials for the accomplishment of this task from the federal government resultant of imports and conversion of defence plants.

Armavir Railway Reopens After Accident
*LD2307164889 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT
23 Jul 89*

[Text] Armavir, Krasnodar territory, July 23 TASS—Traffic has resumed on the Armavir section of the north-Caucasian railway.

The traffic was interrupted on Friday when a freight train carrying grain and other goods met with an accident. Nine cars were derailed and some of them rolled down the slope.

Both railways tracks were disrupted and electric contact system was damaged. There was no loss of life. The causes of the incident will be very likely ascertained by the railway management.

But this has been apparently the case of negligence and a violation of technological discipline again. The incident occurred at a time when a switch was being repaired. In such a situation a train should have passed the switch at a lowered speed. For this the driver of the locomotive is usually given warning signals.

The maintenance workers of the railway did not give such signals when letting the train pass the switch.

Underground Alcohol Business in Tobolsk Viewed
*18001429 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 4*

[Article by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent G. Bazhutin: "What Has Happened in Tobolsk?"]

[Text] Rumors are circulating in Tyumen Oblast, one more alarming than the next: Either the Russians are beating up the Moslems in Tobolsk, or the other way around. What has actually happened in the ancient capital of Siberia?

At the Tobolsk City Department of Militia, they said: "Speculation in vodka...was the reason. This is a profitable business, it has been flourishing for many years now. An entire chain of repurchasers and booze dealers has developed in the city, consisting primarily of southerners who have come to the construction sites of Tobolsk. As local citizens see it, vodka may be purchased without special problems at any time of day."

For example, all of Tobolsk knew that brisk sales of alcohol proceeded almost around the clock at workers' dormitory No 41, as well as at other addresses. However, the militia had had a hard time catching the crooks red-handed.

The sky-high profits of speculators robbed the local "fighters for social justice" of their peace. Having caught several alcohol speculators, they took them outside the city and told them what size contribution was imposed on all of them.

The victims, having returned to the city, gathered their fellow [southerners] and set out to look for the wrongdoers at midnight, armed with steel bars and knives.

Fortunately, it virtually did not come to direct skirmishes. The militia of Tobolsk and their colleagues who hurried there from other rayons showed the dispatch needed. The quickly formed detachments of worker's militia were a big help.

The events could have taken a dramatic turn had the situation become uncontrollable. A great number of firearms, gasoline bombs, and drugs were confiscated. The investigative group uncovered real dens at the locations of underground trade in alcohol, including in workers' dormitories, where dozens of shady persons arriving here from the south and having neither residence permits nor permanent employment found shelter.

"Today, the city can sleep peacefully," ensures Chief of the City Department of Internal Affairs V. Kulikov.

However, the citizens do not share the optimism of the employees of law enforcement agencies, and they are asking questions. For example, why did they have to wait until passions boiled over and only after that enforce

elementary order in the dormitories and confiscate the illegally held weapons? Also, there is no guarantee thus far that the underground alcohol business will not flourish again with all the consequences thereof.

Baku Plant To Produce Disposable Syringes

PM1707101989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent A. Dzhalilov report: "Meeting the Orders of Doctors and Land Reclamation Specialists"]

[Excerpt] Baku—A special section of the pilot plant of Baku's "Geofizpribor" Association is preparing to manufacture 175-200 million disposable syringes per year. This is sufficient to meet the needs of all three Transcaucasian republics. [passage omitted]

Economic

Finance Minister Interviewed on Price Increases

LD0408194689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0330 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] Now I want to ask you to listen to a recording that I think will be of interest to many people. It was made at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Our correspondent Igor Zorin will present the person with whom he is speaking.

[Begin recording] [Zorin] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet one of what is probably the most important laws of the present session has been passed. The law deals with urgent measures to improve provision of the population with pensions and social services. Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov, USSR Minister of Finance, did not have an easy time speaking to the deputies and undergoing the usual examination. I have invited him to the microphone of all-union radio and have asked Valentin Sergeyevich to give us his comments.

Where have we taken those R6.6 billion from for a year when we have such a big deficit in the country?

[Pavlov] The fact is that in the economy there are always tasks of an urgent nature. If they are not resolved, then all the remaining appeals not only simply fail to find a response, but even elementary trust. On the one hand, as they say, this was the first step in which we considered it necessary to mobilize everything that we have today to our name. On the other hand, in practice we considered it necessary to agree to a certain redistribution of priorities and those resources that the country today is earning.

[Zorin] You are raising the tax rate for enterprises to 30 percent. What do the enterprises think about that? What can you tell us about that?

[Pavlov] You see, one has to define this more precisely. We are not raising the tax rates. The fact is, we consider it fair if an enterprise that today is taking part in the formation of

the social insurance budget by adding to its wages certain tariffs which have at present been established as ranging from 4 to 14 percent, depending on the type of activity that these enterprises are engaged in, and partially raising these extra payments by lowering its income and profits. In doing this, one should bear in mind that we are not dividing it up equally so to speak, but the state budget significantly takes upon itself the main burden. According to our estimates, we think that this makes up 2.7 percent as a whole, of those incomes that they will have at their disposal in 1990. It is hardly likely that any serious manager of an enterprise or collective will refuse to give 2.7, or even 3 percent, of his income to improve the standard of living of that category of the population that is socially most deprived and unprotected.

[Zorin] Valentin Sergeyevich, one last question to you as the new USSR finance minister. All the same, isn't it difficult to live on R70 today?

[Pavlov] The fact is, you see, that today we have taken a decision on urgent measures. These are indeed emergency measures. Naturally the whole essence of the question is that money differs from the paper on which it is printed by the fact that it should be backed up by certain material values and services. The fact that we are today talking about raising the minimum pension must be reinforced by tangible things—milk, meat, clothing, footwear—and if this measure is not to be depreciated, we must give our pensioners and those categories of people who were mentioned today the opportunity to acquire goods, albeit on coupons, at state prices. I am taking advantage of your microphone today to make an appeal with this issue to our local soviets. They are the ones to organize the sale of goods and organize the supplies to the population.

[Zorin] Valentin Sergeyevich, I would like to thank you and I did really ask you the last question. Probably hundreds of grandmothers and grandfathers, elderly men and women, are listening and asking what is he doing talking to the minister of finance and not asking him whether the prices are going to go up on bread, meat, or milk. There is so much talk and so many rumors circulating about that.

[Pavlov] Well, what am I supposed to say to you? The question of a change in the level of prices for foodstuffs has been taken off the agenda for at least 2 years. And here the question is connected with the fact that any economy will accept reforms in the sphere of prices; the sphere of money, as a positive factor, only in the event that the economy is on the upswing from the point of view of filling up the goods market. [end recording]

Deputies Debate Consumer Shortages

18270133 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Jul 89 p 1

[TASS parliamentary correspondent I. Novikov report: "Under a Hail of Questions"]

[Text] Speaking on 28 July to the Council of Nationalities Standing Commission on Consumer Goods, Trade

and Municipal Services, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] found himself in a difficult situation. Under a hail of questions he was forced to admit that the steps taken to eliminate the shortages of nonfood goods may only blunt the acute nature of the problem and not eliminate it. In order to meet consumer demand in full, serious work is needed, and in-depth, unorthodox decisions to these questions must be made.

How can they be approached? This was the subject of the working meeting of the commission to which representatives of the Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan and a number of ministries and departments were invited. "Our goal," the commission chairman G.N. Kiselev told a TASS correspondent before the meeting, "is to analyze the state of affairs with the commodity shortages, clarify the reasons for the imbalance, and gain the attention of the planning and distribution organs."

What is causing particular concern? The various categories of commodity shortages were touched upon in statements by deputies Yu.I. Nugis, I.A. Zabronin, V.I. Tso, T.V. Momotov, S.I. Kornev and others. And the most frequent question was: why? They demanded specific answers to the question: what is the cause and who is to blame? To listen to the chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development Yu.V. Zhukov one would think that no one is to blame for the shortages of soap, detergents, razor blades, toothpaste, dishes and other articles. But in fact someone is and the deputies pointed to them. Among the shortcomings, they singled out in particular the lack of proper concern for people by those responsible for the production of commodities in mass demand. Economic reasons were also cited. One important reason is that enterprises, or at least many of them, have no interest in accepting stepped-up plans. The deputies put forward proposals on how to bring all capacities and reserves into play.

Another unfortunate thing is the superficial work on projects. Deputy A.M. Obolenskiy condemned the shameful practice whereby enterprises are planned and then built when it is known that the manpower available for them will be inadequate. He even proposed that documents be drawn up and those who deliberately take antigovernment steps be dealt with strictly. Responding to him the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers said that much of what goes on in planning is now being reviewed. He reported that every 2 weeks, at the level of deputy chairman, within the Council of Ministers an analysis is made of the situation with regard to shortages, and all the links in the problems concerning consumer goods are looked at.

In short, everything possible is being done to deal with the situation. To this end, it is planned for the immediate future to set up a Council of Ministers working group that would deal exclusively with questions concerning in-depth studies of commodity shortages that occur and draw up recommendations.

Special emphasis is being placed on enterprises in the defense sectors. Speaking at the meeting the representative of the "defense people," B.M. Belousov, announced that the military-industrial complex is now producing more than 3,000 kinds of nonfood consumer goods. They are worth tens of billions of rubles. For a number of reasons these sectors still cannot move to a planned level. But, the speaker assured us, all the prerequisites have been created for a leap forward. Even by next year 30,000 workers in the defense sector will have been switched to the production of consumer goods using freed up capacities. We note that the "defense people" will from next year be producing razor blades, wallpaper, linoleum and other articles in short supply today. The estimated amount by which the production of consumer goods will increase was also quoted—more than R3 billion.

So that people in key posts in the economy are in an optimistic mood. If only this optimism could be shared! When Yu.V. Zhukov announced that next year the country will reach the general level for Europe in the production of goods of which there are acute shortages, one of the deputies cried "Oh yeah?" But even if this is so, we shall not be able to disregard the continuing flurry of demand for goods in short supply, and the desire to store purchases. People understand that for too long they have been on starvation rations. During the course of the debate it was remarked that women are prepared to pay any price set by the State Committee on Prices for pantyhose (already expensive enough!) if only there were any!

The situation that has now taken shape with nonfood goods will be a bloody one for a long time. This was the unanimous opinion of the members of the commission. During the first 6 months of this year alone there was a shortage in the stores of light industry output amounting to more than R300 million. Production growth rates for consumer goods are lower than those planned for most articles. There are many reasons for this, and they are not all objective. For example, in response to a question from a deputy as to why the production of hosiery has declined, this was the answer: a factory in Armenia was put out of commission by the earthquake. The comments on this were resounding: this happened some time ago, would it be possible to have enterprises in other regions switch production; we have this slowness, this sluggishness....

Why have more than 40 enterprises of the Ministry of Light Industry been operating at a loss? One of the main reasons is the incomplete use of capacities. Here things cannot be explained by some natural calamity. In order to cover the gap in the plan the enterprises must now operate at a level of 107 percent or 108 percent per month. Will they be able to do this? The deputies expressed their doubts. And they are justified. To some extent the situation can be corrected by imported equipment. A.Ya. Yefimov emphasized that the union republic councils of ministers must take urgent steps to install it promptly and assimilate in the shortest possible time.

Targets have not been met for consumer goods by the ministries of the machine-building complex. During the first 6 months of the year they had a shortfall of R719 million. Production of television sets, refrigerators and other popular goods rose 2 percent to 5 percent instead of 7 percent to 16 percent. The deputies clarified this pattern: at the local level there is no special hurry to increase the output of nonfood goods at enterprises of republic subordination. Thus, in seven of the union republics the plan for the production of furniture has been shelved.

Deputies who are familiar with the situation at the local level noted that virtually everywhere there are large gaps in trade with television sets, refrigerators, motorcycles, and cultural and everyday goods. From where can they be obtained? In all, during the period January through June, for the country as a whole the shortfall in supplies of consumer goods amounted to R4.1 billion. There is a serious strain in satisfying demand for construction materials, slate, veneers, and wood-chip panels. The deputies approved the steps being taken by the standing organs of the USSR Council of Ministers, the union republic councils of ministers, and ministries and departments to build up the production of goods during the second half of the year.

"Today's debate of the acute questions being raised by life is only a beginning to the great analytical work to be done by our commission in fields affecting the interests of each Soviet family," G.N. Kiselev said after the session. "I sense that we shall return many times to these questions. In the near future we shall be taking a close look at the question of the provision of goods and services for the rural populations in a number of regions. Many deputies have proposed this."

Problems in Rail Industry Noted

LD0608210389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 6 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; commentary by Leonid Elin on the occasion of Railway Workers Day]

[Text] In spite of the lack of rolling stock and unsatisfactory state of the tracks, railway workers have already transported more than 8 million tonnes of above-plan grain for the current harvest season. In July they overfulfilled their plan for deliveries of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit by 200,000 tonnes.

People are still complaining about passenger service. More than half the railcars should have been written off a long time ago, but there are no replacements. There is a shortage of locomotives and suburban electric trains. Even so, some railways achieved good results with good organization of work, including the BAM [Baykonal-Amur Mainline], which many specialists thought would be unprofitable. It has good prospects, since traffic will start this year along its whole length.

Financial autonomy, especially lease subcontracting, is having a good effect.

Plans for the transport of some items, especially fuel, were not fulfilled in July because of the situation in the Kuzbass, Donbass, and Vorkuta. Railway workers are often blamed for not supplying railcars at the right time, but as of 1 August industrial enterprises were holding back 12,500 unloaded railcars, using them as storage space, and were holding up the same number on the approach tracks. [video shows trains]

Agricultural

Supply Problems for Harvest Viewed

PM0408102989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Article by agro-industrial desk: "Harvest Will Not Forgive Indifference"]

[Text] The food shelves are not yet offering us plenty. People are asking with increasing frequency: When will there be an improvement? The rural workers are doing quite a lot to change the situation. This year is taking shape successfully for many grain growers, particularly in the Ukraine and the North Caucasus. There is a real opportunity to provide sufficient and even better supplies of feed for stockraising units than last year. It is true that in the East the grain and forage situation is very complex.

Good news from the grain fields alternates with alarming signals. At the very height of the harvest combines are standing idle here and there. Piles of grain are forming on the threshing floors. Lines of trucks are forming near the elevators. A typical picture! But the grain grower's heart does not want to come to terms with his partners' slovenliness. Stoppages are almost always losses. Losses of grain, vegetables, and feed. Are they great? For some reason statistics do not show this. It is possible, however, to say exactly how much grain our country, which has been a grain growing power since time immemorial, imports from abroad—tens of millions of tonnes. We import foreign grain because we lose our own.

It is time to break the vicious circle of irresponsibility. It is not true that the equipment is stopping in the fields for some objective reasons or other. There are culprits in every specific case. In Belorussia and Uzbekistan, Tataria and Rostov Oblast (many more places could be cited) vehicles with empty tanks are now standing idle. The farmers with arable land have failed to receive hundreds of thousands of tonnes of diesel fuel at the very height of the harvesting work. In a number of places there is an acute shortage of gasoline, although suppliers are reporting that they have fulfilled the plan for deliveries.

While in no way absolving the workers of the State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products enterprises of blame for disruptions in deliveries and for the confusion, it must be noted that it is the plants of the

Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry which are at the source of the fuel shortage. Many of these plants, incidentally, are working at half strength. But the petroleum refining workers do have an excuse: They say there is a shortage of tanks for dispatching the crude oil. Naturally, the railroad workers find their own excuses. It looks as though there is no end to this chain of departmental excuses. You cannot find the culprits. And which of the partners has been punished even once for the fuel famine in the countryside, which occurs every year! Ultimately it is the peasant himself who is to blame as he watches, almost in tears, as the grain falls from the ears which have been left standing too long.

Of course, it is not only a question of punishing the real culprit. We must fundamentally alter the system of mutual relations between the city and the countryside. The peasant no longer wants to remain in the role of supplicant. He cannot rely merely on the charity of a powerful partner. Over 5,000 "Don" combines are now standing by the roadside on the collective farms and state farms. They arrived in the countryside without headers. This was not an accidental blunder on the part of the machine builders. For the sake of the notorious gross output figure, it was more advantageous for the Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building to produce more expensive combines without concerning itself with the production of cheap headers. Many tens of thousands of "Nivas" also cannot go out into the fields for the same reason.

Alarming news is coming in from the Kuban and other grain areas: The grain is being poorly shipped from the farms. A fuel shortage again? Or is there a shortage of cars? It is not just that. This year the country's collective and state farms failed to receive hundreds of thousands of batteries. The enterprises of the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry even preferred not to conclude a contract with rural consumers for this output. On the other hand how many appeals and assurances can be heard from various platforms on priority for orders from the agro-industrial complex. But the countryside is choking in the "eternal" shortage of spare parts and materials.

If you ask any rural leader what perturbs him most of all today the reply will almost always be the same: supplies. The common opinion is that they have recently deteriorated substantially. Often farms do not receive even the minimum of resources defined by funds and quotas. The agricultural supply department which used to be part of the State Agro-Industrial Committee system was unable to do anything to put matters right. Unless the State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies, in taking over from it, renounces administrative-bureaucratic methods of distributing material and technical facilities and planning resources "from what has been achieved," the countryside will not rid itself of the shortage. The development of leasing and the cooperative movement is inconceivable without wholesale trade, a free market, and direct ties.

The times when farm leaders went to the party rayon committee even for nails and slate have passed into oblivion. Now what are purely the concerns of the farms have been shifted onto the shoulders of the people who should be occupied with them. But does that mean that the party organizations can remain uninvolved in the burning problems of supply? When combines are standing idle during the harvest, and the entire harvesting process is in a frenzy because of slovenliness or sloppiness, the party rayon and oblast committees do not have the right to be mere observers. The food question is a political question. And everything preventing its speediest solution must be given a political assessment, seeking the immediate elimination of shortcomings.

The saying that every hour is precious in the fields is somewhat decrepit and has become worn from frequent use. The grain growers themselves know the true value of these words, although they do not utter them in vain. "Give us resources and don't prevent us from work" can be heard with increasing frequency from the rural workers—from those who, having become real masters, want to feed the country.

Agricultural Developments for 3-5 Aug Reported *LD0608015889*

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian during 3-5 August, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

3 August

The First half-million tonnes of winter rye, wheat and barley have been received in Saratov Oblast. This includes more than 100,000 tonnes of the most valuable, strong and hard wheat. (0204)

More than 350,000 tonnes of grain from the new harvest had by this morning been received by reception points of bread enterprises and elevators of the Tambov area. This is more than one-third of the state order for grain sales. Rain is making the harvest difficult. (0204)

Train-loads of newly harvested grain have left the Orel elevators. The bills of lading are marked "urgent". The high-quality wheat is being sent to Bashkiria, to a zone of a most severe drought, in response to the plight of the farmers of the south Urals. Over 50,000 tonnes of the newly harvested wheat and rye have already been dispatched. The oblast's farms are selling grain to the state above plan. Over 600,000 tonnes of wheat, rye, barley and other crops have already been brought to elevators and storage places, over the planned 500,000 tonnes. (0100)

In Altay Kray elevators are receiving today the first of the new harvest of rye and peas and they are of good quality. Almost 3 million hectares of land is sown to spring wheat in the kray. The storage and drying capacity has been

increased at elevators and acceptance points. The government has allocated the kray 13,000 motor vehicles from other regions during the harvest. There are serious problems, even though the first trucks have arrived from Perm. Fuel is being held up through the fault of plants, suppliers, and railroad workers; and practically half of the agricultural fleet is standing idle. (1300)

In Georgia, silk-growers report the fulfilment of their year's program: more than 17,000 quintals of cocoons have been handed over for processing. Procurement continues. (1330)

The Georgian tea harvest: 308,000 tonnes of tea leaves have been procured and processed so far. The plan for this year is 450,000 tonnes. Two more months of work remain. (1330)

4 August

No fileworthy items monitored.

5 August

Stavropol Kray: the 2 millionth tonne of grain has arrived at the elevators. They are mainly strong and valuable wheats. The state order has already been overfulfilled. Kurgan Oblast: harvesting has started, but drought-hit crops are not yielding the planned harvest. (0900)

The selective harvesting of early grain crops has started in Arkhangel Oblast. Rye has ripened and barley is ripening. Despite unfavorable weather conditions, 20 quintals per hectare of grain is being harvested at a number of farms. (0204)

In Ryazan Oblast 755,000 hectares of grain have been harvested, which is over 80 of the total area. To date, 435,000 tonnes of grain has been delivered to procurement points, which is 80 percent of the state order. (0600)

The sowing of winter grain crops has begun in Kazakhstan. This summer, 2.65 million hectares is to be sown to these crops in the republic—almost 200,000 hectares more than last year. (0600)

Scientific

Shatalov Discusses Space Exploration

LD0608165589 Moscow World Service in English
1500 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Text] The head of the Soviet cosmonauts' training center, Vladimir Shatalov, has said the Soviet space exploration program is facing the need to set up an orbit-based satellite maintenance industry. He pointed out it was inexpedient to lose a satellite worth hundreds of millions of roubles just because one of its blocks [as heard] went out of order. It would be far more efficient to change the broken part in orbit so that the satellite could function much longer. Vladimir

Shatalov said preparations for such experiments must begin already today involving spacecraft and cosmonauts. The forthcoming tests in orbit of a flying armchair are of great interest. This new design is expected to help cosmonauts perform complicated turns over the complex Mir currently operating in an automatic mode. An expedition bound for the space complex is to be launched next month.

Military

Sinking of Sub 'Komsomolets' Under Investigation

Baklanov Discusses Causes

LD0608131689 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1023 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 6 Aug (TASS)—Oleg Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has told journalists about the preliminary results of the work of the government commission investigating the causes and circumstances of the loss of the Soviet atomic submarine "Komsomolets" in the Norwegian Sea on 7 April this year. IZVESTIYA today published an account of the conversation.

Oleg Baklanov recalled that almost simultaneously a fire broke out and there was a sharp rise in pressure in the submarine's compartments. The actions required of the crew were, in principle, contradictory: to seal off the compartments in the event of fire and to unseal them in the event of excessive air intake. This rare combination of circumstances greatly complicated the fight to keep the submarine afloat and predetermined the ineffectiveness of the use of the fire-fighting equipment. The electrical circuits and certain systems were destroyed, and this caused fire and gas to spread rapidly to other compartments of the vessel. The instantaneous rise in temperature led to the unsealing of the shock-absorbing sea-chests [patrybki] and also of the cable glands [kabelnyye salniki] and of the glands of the mechanical equipment on the pressure hull in the seventh compartment and of some of the ballast systems of the stern group. As a result, after the fire went out and pressure fell in the seventh compartment, sea water began to enter. The stern ballast tanks, no longer airtight, also began to fill up. Because of this, the draft of the submarine began to increase. The vessel's trim at the stern also increased and the "Komsomolets" sank in a matter of minutes.

The government commission considered the most likely cause of the fire to have been a malfunction in the electrical equipment of the system controlling the ship's pumps. During the inquiry specialists found a number of technical imperfections in the submarine's various systems, which helped cause the accident. The government commission has finished its main investigations. It is planning to present its final findings in 3 months' time.

The commission also examined the possibility of raising the sunken submarine. This would require hundreds of millions of rubles. However, the performance of this very complex technical engineering task could be a step forward in the development of technology. In addition, the raising of such installations has an ecological aspect and is of economic significance. A final decision on this matter has not yet been made.

Investigation Nears Completion

PM0608175189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent R. Ignatyev article under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Causes of the Sinking of the Submarine 'Komsomolets'"]

[Text] The government commission investigating the causes and circumstances of the sinking of the Soviet nuclear submarine "Komsomolets" is completing its work. The tragedy, as already reported, took place 7 April 1989 in neutral waters of the Norwegian Sea approximately 180 km southwest of Medvezhiy Island. At the request of journalists, O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, discussed the preliminary results of the commission's work. Taking part in the conversation held at the party Central Committee were N.M. Luzhin, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, and V.M. Chuvakin, engineer and shipbuilder. Your IZVESTIYA correspondent also attended the meeting.

Many research projects and experiments have been carried out in the space of almost 4 months. The government commission set up eight sections. Representatives of a number of scientific and production enterprises and organizations, and naval specialists took part in their work. During this period everyone who was in one way or another connected with the tragedy in the Norwegian Sea was interviewed. Research materials from similar disasters were also analyzed.

Thus, for instance, in the past 20 years four Soviet submarines have sunk, including the "Komsomolets" (the figure for the United States is two). An accident in April 1970 resulted in the deaths of 52 people. In June 1983 a submarine sank in 50 meters of water at the entrance to a bay. It was later successfully raised. This particular case resulted in 16 fatalities. In October 1985 another submarine crew lost four men. There were various causes, although there is a general rule behind all the tragedies: shortcomings in the "boat-man-operation" system. The last incident, involving the "Komsomolets," was no exception.

Careful investigation of all the circumstances of the sinking of the "Komsomolets" has revealed a feature of this tragedy. Almost simultaneously a fire broke out and there was a sharp increase in pressure in the submarine's compartments. This required fundamentally opposed actions from the crew: to seal off the compartments in

the event of fire and to unseal them in the event of excessive air intake. Such an extremely rare combination of circumstances substantially complicated the fight to save the submarine and predetermined the ineffectiveness of the use of fire-fighting equipment. The electrical circuits and certain systems were destroyed, which caused the fire and gas to spread rapidly to other compartments. A sudden rise in temperature led to seal failures in the shock-absorption pipes [razgermetizatsiya amortizatsionnykh patrablokov], the cable seals, and the seals of mechanical devices on the pressure hull in compartment seven and some of the stern ballast tanks. Consequently, when the fire was put out and pressure fell in compartment seven, water started to come in. At the same time, the stern ballast tanks, no longer watertight, began to fill. As a result, the submarine's draft started to increase, as did its trim at the stern. The "Komsomolets" sank in a matter of minutes....

Several dozen versions of why the fire broke out were submitted for examination by the government commission. These were whittled down to eight, and finally two. The most likely cause is thought to have been a malfunction in the electrical equipment of the system controlling the submarine's pumps. This led to the fire breaking out. During the inquiry specialists discovered a whole series of technical faults in various systems in the submarine which contributed to the accident. Naturally, further work will be needed on certain units and parts in order to improve them. This is now well understood by the designers, engineers, and shipbuilders. Cases have been established of enterprises supplying shoddy goods for submarines. There is one solution—to tighten up acceptance of output. Sometimes entrusting service of boats to industry, making it an in-house [firmennyy] procedure, will make submariners' work easier and release people to resolve other tasks.

A whole series of questions arose with regard to crew manning and training. There is no doubt that the crew of the "Komsomolets" showed courage and selflessness in trying to save the boat. That is to their honor! But did the personnel always act competently in the situation that emerged? Regrettably not. There were mistakes too. Although, on the whole, I want to stress that the crew's actions are assessed as correct. As soon as the accident happened, the sailors put every effort into fighting to save the submarine, realizing that in saving the boat they would be saving themselves too. However, the critical moment was when their further actions turned out to be ineffective: the "Komsomolets" was doomed. Rescue operations should have been immediately organized. But time was wasted. That is why the men were not able to make full use of all their rescue equipment, of which the submarine had an adequate supply. Nobody aboard the "Komsomolets" allowed for the possibility that the boat would sink. Nor was this expected at the Northern Fleet Headquarters, which had received the following message from the submarine's commander shortly before it went down: "Fire out in all compartments except six and seven, the boat will have to be towed..." Incidentally,

naval vessels too can transmit an "SOS" signal. It is the commander's right. He could have sent such a signal immediately after the fire broke out or at any other time, if he deemed the situation to be hopeless. Once the situation became threatening, an appeal for help to the Norwegian rescue services would have been of no use, since the nearest vessels at that time were Soviet ships and vessels already entering the accident area.

A modern submarine is a unique and complex craft. And it takes years rather than months to commission. That was the conclusion reached by the government commission. Proposals were suggested that on such craft crews should be composed solely of officers and warrant officers. It is hard for sailors to assimilate all the subtleties of a submarine in just 2 years. Attention was drawn to the need for personnel to receive serious training for operations in emergency situations. Crews on future craft will be obliged, specialists believe, to actively participate in the submarine building process and to know all its units and parts.

There are also major shortcomings, in the government commission's opinion, in the organization of the rescue services. Currently, there is no integrated system. Departmental organizations operate haphazardly across the country. Geologists drilling for oil on the seabed and ocean floor, merchant seamen, fishermen, and the Navy all have their own services. We need to amalgamate these services and set up a central coordination center for this complex work. A number of complaints have also been made about individual and collective rescue equipment. The government commission during its work instructed the relevant ministries and departments to develop the necessary organizational, scientific, and technical measures. These will be aimed at improving submarines' technical equipment, crew rescue equipment, and at providing special training for personnel....

Specialists obtained valuable material as a result of an expedition to the sunken submarine and the area where it went down. These documents included a video survey of the "Komsomolets" obtained using "Mir"-class deep-sea submersibles. This research confirmed some of the experiments and helped to piece together the picture of the tragedy. The scientists saw for themselves that the radiation conditions on the sea surface and underwater in direct proximity to the sunken submarine are normal. There are two nuclear-tipped torpedoes inside the vessel. They pose no danger. The reactor has been safely shut

down [zaglushit] and has virtually cooled off. At the time of the sinking its temperature was around 70 degrees. No anomalies have been discovered.

The commission's main research is over. However, to obtain more precise conclusions many more details will have to be revealed. This will require new experiments. The government commission investigating the cause and circumstances of the sinking of the "Komsomolets" has decided to continue work. It plans to present its final conclusions in 3 months' time.

The commission also examined the possibility of raising the sunken submarine. A study of this question showed that complex technology and special equipment and appliances would be needed to carry out such an operation. For instance, freeing the "Komsomolets"—which weighs around 5,000 tonnes, is 120 meters long, and 11 meters in the beam—would require 5,500 tonnes of steel hawsers alone. The entire range of work would require a large amount of material expenditure. Specialists calculate that the sum would run into hundreds of millions of rubles. But the fulfillment of this exceedingly difficult engineering and technical task could be a step forward in the development of technology. Moreover, the raising of such vessels has an ecological aspect and is of national economic importance. No final decision on this question has yet been made.

The government commission did not set itself the target of apportioning blame for the sinking of the "Komsomolets," although, during the course of its work, one of the leaders of the rescue services was released from his duties. Its main task is to do everything possible to implement the proposals and recommendations worked out in the course of the investigation so as to prevent a repetition of such tragedies.

The Northern Fleet Military Prosecutor's Office is currently conducting an investigation into the case. The commission's materials will also be passed on to the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. In short, those to blame for what happened will have to answer to the party and the people.

The commission continues to give assistance to the families of those who died in the tragedy. The future of the "Komsomolets" crew members who survived will be decided in the very near future. They have all made a full recovery and are feeling well.